റാവുസാഹിബ്ബ് എം. എം. പോൾ: (എ) ചിറ്റൂർ താലൂക്കിലെ മില്ലുകാർ തന്നിട്ടുള്ളതിനേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ തന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്.

(ബി) മൻചോദ്യത്തിന്റെ മറുപടികൊണ്ടു ഉത്തരം ആവശ്യമില്ല.

CHALAKKUDI IRRIGATION SCHEME

59. **Mr. P. Mani** *(Kanayannur)*: Will Government be pleased to state.—
(*a*) whether the investigation of Chalakkudi Irrigation Scheme is over;
(*b*) if so, when was it;
(*c*) what is the total expenditure for the investigation?

Mr V. K. Aravindaksha Menon *(Chief Engineer)*:
(*a*) Yes.
(*b*) In 1119.
(*c*) About Rs. 33,046.

EMERGENCY TRAINING CLASS

60. മിസ്റ്റർ എം. കെ. വള്ളിസ്സ്: താഴെ പറയുന്ന ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്ക് ബഹുമാന്യപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു സദയം മറുപടി പറയുമോ.—

(*a*) Emergency training class-ൽ പഠിക്കുന്ന അദ്ധ്യാപക വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കു പഠിക്കുവാൻ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പാഠപുസ്തകങ്ങളിൽ ചിലതു out of print ആണെന്നറിയുന്നതു വാസ്തവമാണോ;

(*b*) വാസ്തവമാണെങ്കിൽ ആ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ എങ്ങിനെ പഠിക്കണമെന്നുദ്ദേശിച്ചാണു ആ പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു?

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. ശങ്കരൻ നമ്പ്യാർ: (*a*) Emergency training class-നു പഠിക്കുവാൻ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പുസ്തകങ്ങളിൽ ചിലതു out of print ആണെന്നുള്ള വിവരം ഇതുവരെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ അറിവിൽ ഇല്ല.

(*b*) (*a*) ചോദ്യത്തിന്റെ ഉത്തരമനുസരിച്ചു ഈ ചോദ്യത്തിനു ഉത്തരം ആവശ്യമില്ല.

2. General Discussion on the Budget

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Tattamangalam)*: I congratulate the Government on its bravado in presenting to the House a deficit budget. It has till now stuck up to surplus with such religious fervour that any deviation from it would throw them out of cost. But there is consolation. For, from the Finance Member's speech it would be seen that it would certainly end in the close of the year with a surplus. For he says in the same breath that there would be a fall of income in the railway and an increase in customs. Increase in customs means increase in imports. All the imports are not for Cochin alone. Some may go to Travancore, mostly to British parts. They have to be taken by railway and the loss will so far be lessened. Such instances there are many in the budget which the Finance Member tries to gloss over by the exhibition of his literary talents. The Post-war developments have been provided for. The only ambition of the public is that the Government should take up all the works and finish them without delay. In the Public Works Department side of the development works all have been before the public long since. The Poringalkuthu was in the air from the time of Diwan Sir W. Bhore. It was then delayed not because of the difficulty to get men and machinery but it was simply due to want of imagination. The other works, road works were those taken up by the Road Board three years ago, they had parcelled out the amount to be utilised within the prescribed time. But the works were put off owing to war.

Sir, you had expressed in one of your speeches that we are to have industrial projects in company with Travancore. There is nothing about it in the budget and in your speech. We are thus with no industry and Travancore has gone afar without us.

When you passed encomiums on the Police I fear the Diwan, in you ecclipsed the President and your experience in British India in so deciding in the end of any conflict between the Police and the public by this answer, ecclipsed both of them. The wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches we who have suffered at the hands of the Police cannot endure the Head of the administration say that the Police of the State is inspired by the highest principles of public service while the innocent gentry of the place is being bossed over even by the boobies of the

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force. Ever since the advent of the Ex-Commissioner of Police with his powerful lathi with its attendant remisness of Truth and other valuable ingredients that make up a gentleman, the force has deteriorated, has become corrupt and has begun to consider itself masters of the public.

The corruption now centres round food and textiles the two most necessary departments for raising the standard of living of the people. These departments are seething with corruption. The officers have been taught to throw away good amounts for small gains of food. They have found that honesty in these days does not pay. And they make the best of the opportunity. Sir, Finance Member's war against poverty, ill-health, illeteracy should be waged in the spirit which is pervading in the State at present. In his war against ill-health he has nothing to say, he does not propose anything, to avoid ill-health but only to help the patient which is derogatory to his position. The prime work in that direction is the proposed establishment of the T.B. Sanitorium at Mulakunnathukavu. There are places in the State which would answer to all the needs that made Perumthurai a fit Sanitorium. The Government have not cared to inquire about it. The borders of Coimbatore in the Cochin side would have been more suitable.

Noonday feeding has become a regular feature, says the Finance Member. If the feeding is anything it is not regular. Giving food all the months but not all the days of the months is regular it is a regular feature. The children accustomed to have nothing in the noon did not FEEL the pinch of hunger so much when there was no feeding are put to great sorrow by no feeding for a few days early in the month. On enquiry it was said that the accounts had not been passed and that feeding would be begun soon after orders were received. There is a special officer for it. What a travesty. In speaking about controls the Finance Member says that the loss of a good amount—18 lakhs of rupees—was mainly due to the subsidised sale of rice. He forgets the Government reply to a question why the paddy purchased from Chittur was sold there alone at an abnormally higher price, "that it was to make up the loss caused by the subsidised sale of rice purchased from other quarters. He is ashamed to say that it was to make up the loss consequent on the grains getting deteriorated and useless for consumption having been otherwise disposed off for a song. This was brought about by the ignorance of persons selected by the Staff Selection Board to keep these grains. We all know that tuition in this direction is not imparted in Schools and Colleges. Speaking about cloth control he speaks of the short supply to the demand. The supply is based on the production of hand-loom cloth to make the deficit. The control to hand-loom cloth should have been stricter. Now there is black-marketing and smuggling. If they had taken the public into their confidence and if the Police and the excise had been of the sort, The President had said "this could easily have been put a stop to. Instead of that, authorities used the sledgehammer of giving monopoly" for the marketing society of Trichur to the great detriment of the wholesalers, and the Co-operative movement of the producing places. These Co-operative societies are a class of quasi Government institutions. Their secretaries, the Government nominees have no work now and they find it difficult to spend their time.

The way in which matters are being carried on in the Textile Department can well be known if only the Government would care and enquire how the marketing society which was dealing in more than 150 bales of yarn and the paper-market which was dealing in about 30 bales have by some black-magic reversed their position the marketing society getting only 30 bales and the other 150 bales. Enquire and find the nature of the magic and bring the culprit to book. Grow more food Manures. what have they done in this direction in Chittur. What they had done was but a farce. Manure was given to Warthu-Vitha only after the crops had flowered. The quantity required was 1500 tons and only 400 tons were sent to Chittur. When and how much? The dearth of field manures was due to the controlling of the ground nut cake in the British parts. When was this control issued. It was only after the elapse of the season when we required the cake. Why were they sleeping till then?

Do the Government know that the present Government in the British parts are taking manure to the very fields of the agriculturists, giving them gratis and making them apply it then and there to the fields. This is business. Here our authorities satisfy themselves by proclaiming their intentions. Kindly take a lesson from them.

My constituency of municipalities were no more than rual parts. We have by dint of continued application brought it to a State which may be considered fit to be a municipality. We had asked for permission for concreting the road which is only thirty feet wide which has rows of living houses and shops on both sides. The Government had more than one occasion said that it would be done as a post-war work The concreting of Trichur alone is taken up. Our name is not in the Budget. Will the Goverenment be pleased

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to reconsider and include this item also in the post-war list. May His Highness our beloved Maharajah live long is the hearty prayer of my constituency and myself.

Mrs. T. Francis *(Women-Ernakulam)*: Mr. President, Sir, The Hon'ble Finance Member has presented to us this year a budget which is both encouraging and disappointing. He expressly states that the budget by itself, will give neither a complete nor a correct idea of the financial position of the State as a whole. So there is no necessity of being very critical about its several provisions. Besides, he presents a deficit budget this year and he has drawn on the Revenue Reserve Fund to equalise the figures. Whatever that be there is nothing to be apprehensive about, for it is seen that all the three previous years have closed with a surplus and, we can confidently hope that if the figures of the last three years are any criterion, the year 1122 also, may be expected to close with at least a small surplus.

The budget appears to have been framed on the assumption that the price levels of commodities may continue at the present dizzy heights for some time more and consequently the Government had been forced to revise and increase the Dearness allowance which they were paying to all their subordinates. The glaring omission in the budget of any provision to augment the temporary allowance they have been paying to the pensioners, in view of abnormal rise in the cost of living, has to be very much regretted and we may hope that their case will not fail to be considered by the Government sympathetically and help them also to tide over the difficult period.

Provision of 1½ lakhs for the improvement in Fishing Industry, provision of large amounts for giving subsidy to cultivators, a sum of Rs. 5·60 lakhs for noon-day feeding of school children and 1¼ lakhs for fee. concession, particularly of Servicemen's children and dependants; and provision of sufficient funds for the establishment of a T. B. Sanitorium and expansion, particularly, of Ayurvedic system of medicine are features which are encouraging.

It may be here pointed out that though large sums are proposed to be spent in improving fishing, the cost of fish in the local market is soaring without any check or hindrance and good fish is almost unavailable in the local markets. There is a strong complaint that fish obtained in the farms is auctioned to people who smuggle them out of the State. It is a pity that, in spite of the propaganda made by the Food Department, advising the people to eat more fish, they were hitherto not able to make it available for the people either in large quantities or under control prices. The excess cost that is demanded from the people, go to the pockets of middlemen or to certain monopolists who control prices. It is high time that the Government took more rigorous action to prevent export of fish, as has been done by the neighbouring State and arrange that all fish produced in the farms under Government control are brought to the local markets—there are at least 3 or 4 of these in Ernakulam and sold at control rates. It does not do credit to the Government that they have not hitherto been able to introduce weighing system in fish trade, as has been adopted in other places most satisfactorily.

Then again, the provision made under medical relief is not at all encouraging. There is no provision for the proposed Maternity Hospital for Ernakulam. This is one of the discouraging features. An assurance was given early in the year that as soon as the Ram Mohan Palace is released by the Military, a start would be made and I understand that the building would be released by the Military early in 1122. If that be so the absence of any provision in the budget for making a start in establishing the Maternity Hospital, is to be deplored. The proposals involving very large sums of moneys are reported to have been submitted to the Government in this connection. If this is true I must characterise such attempts as a deliberate manoeuvre to prevent its accomplishment or to put cold water over the proposals. I would therefore submit to the earnest and unbiassed consideration of the Honourable House a simple idea, which will help, I am sure, to establish a Maternity Hospital at Ernakulam at a minimum of cost and a maximum of advan age. The present General Hospital Bui ding as you are all aware was designed and constructed 70 or 80 years ago, to be used as a hospital and not to be used for locating any other office. During the administration of the Department by successive Medical Officers, it was expanded considerably and every time, when the execution of such works war taken up, their design and construction were all carried out with a view to using it as a Hospital and nothing else. I would therefore suggest that the present General Hospital may be exclusively set apart to be used as the *Maternity Hospital* for Ernakulam and the Ram Mohan Palace may be adapted to be used as the General Hospital. This will solve the problem in a most economic way. I have heard it talked about that the Government consider that if both the men's section and the Maternity

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Section could be housed in Ram Mohan Palace, the present General Hospital Buildings could be used for accommodating other Government Offices, for which floor space is badly needed. This would constitute a sheer, absolute waste of time, money, labour and thought spent on the design and execution of a hospital which ought not be dislocated as such, for the mere necessity of finding accommodation for other offices, which do not require, operation theatres and the like which are regular features of a hospital. Open verandahs and open wards are not the kind of accommodation required for offices. They want closed rooms and more secure premises. That means that alterations to suit such office requirements will have to be undertaken and these must cost large sums of money. If my proposals are accepted it will be easy to make the necessary adjustments at a comparatively small cost. Not much of alterations will be needed in the present General Hospital. The present General ward for men can be used as General ward for women and the eastern block can be used exclusively as maternity ward. The pay ward and the children's ward may be retained as such. The Ophthalmic Hospital can conveniently be shifted to the present Out-patient Dispensary and the same in turn, transferred back to the old building near the southern gate where it was formerly located. I would suggest that the Eye Hospital may be used as the Residence for the Resident Lady Medical Officers.

The Exray department and the Laboratory section may be retained where they are as such things will be required in the Maternity Hospital also. The Ram Mohan Palace and its several outhouses can very conveniently be adapted as the General Hospital. There are buildings there which can be used as quarters for the R. M. O. Out-patient Dispensary, Isolation Ward, etc., and for other parphernalia. There are several facilities there which can profitably be used for further expansion. Open space is also not wanting on the northern side of the Palace for the location of a medical college, if that is contemplated to be established in the near future. The Old Railway Staff Quarters and the Old Railway Goods Shed are all available for use. I would consider it would be the height of folly for any one to think that the present General Hospital buildings should be used for any other purpose, other than that for which it was originally designed and built. My idea, if accepted, would enable the women and men's sections to be separated entirely and congestion avoided. Ernakulam is a growing town and it is necessary to plan with an eye to the future. Want of forethought and imagination has landed us in more than one dilemma. If space for accommodating other offices is an imperative necessity, I would respectfully suggest that the execution of a very laudable idea which Sir Shanmugham had put forward before he left the State, be taken up immediately, that is, the construction of a suitable habitation for locating the High Court and the lower Civil courts of Ernakulam. Now is the time to undertake this construction. With the elevation of the Cochin Chief Court to the status and dignity of a High Court, it has become necessary that the Highest Tribunal in the State should be located in a building worthy of its High position, honour and status and not relegated to the corner of a block of buildings where the Executive administrative sections are located and where congestion is the order of the day. An ideal site was selected for the purpose and, if I remember aright, plans and estimates were also prepared. In any case, it is desirable that the High Court of judicature of the Cochin State should be moved out from its present unsuitable locality and housed separately. The construction of the High Court buildings, where the District Courts and Munsiff's Courts can also be located, with all facilities and amenities for the litigant public and a building for the Bar Association, is a necessity which cannot be postponed indefinitely. Why not take up the question now and the construction started? When this is completed sufficient accommodation can be found within close proximity of the Secretariat to house several Executive Offices. In addition to this, the present Guest House (the Old College Principal's Bungalow) will also become available very soon for locating Government offices. With the abolition of paramountcy, we may have to say good bye to the British Resident and the Bolghatty residency will then be available for accommodating State guests. All these things will only require a programme of adjustments. In any case, it is not necessary for the Government to look out for any other building or plan out any new construction for locating the Maternity Hospital and its early establishment is a stern necessity which cannot and should not be put off on the score of imaginary and artificial difficulties.

It is gratifying to see that the Government have decided to extend the pipe line to Chellanam. This was a long felt want and I am sure, the thanks, nay, the heart-felt gratitude of the inhabitants of this village will be forthcoming for the provision made in the budget for this work. But unfortunately, the agricultural needs of that forsaken village, namely the timely construction of agricultural bunds, etc., does not seem to attract the attention of the Departments concerned, so much so constant complaints are seen made thereof. Besides, it is high

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time that expert opinion is taken as to the cause of the constant erosion and the loss of property that takes place in Chellanam year after year. The loss of many cocoanut trees is reported from Chellanam, and its neighbourhood this year also. It is a very bad practice to dump broken granite stones when the sea is in fury. Besides, these small stones are considered to be a waste for constructing groynes. Only properly designed groynes, constructed with big size stones of not less than 10 to 15 c. ft. in contents would serve the purpose. There must be some special reason for the erosion to take place at this particular part of the sea shore. That cause must be found out and remedial measures undertaken to counteract it. All other endeavours will be a waste of money.

I had in my last Budget speech referred to the necessity of providing good drinking water to Bolghatty, Vallarpadam and Vypeen and to all the adjacent areas of Ernakulam and of Vypeen islands. The method of conveying a few boatloads of water to Vypeen, recenty adopted by the Department concerned can only be considered as an eye-wash for the failure to adopt more up-to-date and satisfactory methods. No satisfactory supply can be undertaken unless Government decide to lay a submerged pipe line across the three branches of the backwater. The underground pipe line may cross Bolghatty, Vallarpadam and end at Vypeen. As a preliminary to this project, pipe line lengthwise of these islands can now be laid and stand pipes at fixed distances, erected. To ensure pressure at the taps overhead tanks will also have to be erected. At any rate a proper scheme can and should be drawn up and estimates prepared. In the meanwhile, instead of the half hearted and unsatisfactory method now adopted for conveying a few bucket-fuls of water daily, the Government may utilise a couple of the landing craft they recently purchased from the Military, for conveying water to these islands. It would then be possible to convey larger quantity of water. The intake jetty may more conveniently be located near the old jail jetty, instead of maintaining it near the Huzur Jetty. This will minimise the distance, the barges have to travel and thus effect saving in working expenses.

It is seen that the Government have several schemes on the anvil to be taken up as Post-war measures and the first place is seen given to the development of agriculture in the State. Nineteen different schemes for the improvement of agriculture are seen considered. Of course, Agriculture is the Main Industry of the country and priority has been given to it before all else. If by adopting any or all of the 19 schemes, it would be possible to make Cochin Self sufficient for the supply of her cereals, I would wholeheartedly support their adoption. But it is quite apparent that we have not got the qualified technical staff required to put these schemes into execution. And Cochinites get scant encouragement or permission to join the Agricultural Colleges in the Madras Presidency. It would do well for the Government to adopt a more liberal policy in encouraging Cochinites to study in Agricultural Colleges in the Madras Presidency. Government should, not only procure more seats for Cochinites but, help the students by granting them scholarships or liberal stipends.

The 2nd in importance is the Development of animal Husbandry. Excepting the maintenance of a Model Cattle farm, I think Government ought to invite the co-operation of limited companies or individuals to undertake the execution of the several schemes enumerated under this head.

Several schemes are seen enumerated under Development of Fisheries and it is very necessary that Government should have taken more active interest in this much earlier. There is a very wrong notion that fishing is a monopoly of one caste or class of people. That period has long gone by. All the same, when Government intereferes in its development or control, complaints from these people are often heard. So much so, it tends to create an unhealthy monopoly which, it is time, to remove. I understand that a company has been floated in Travancore in which the Government have taken a big share to develop fisheries there. Similar companies or companies on a Co-operative basis, may be formed here also. I understand Government have puchased from the Military a couple of fishing vessels suitable for deep sea fishing. Men who understand how to handle the vessels and tackle, should be engaged from outside, if necessary, in the initial stage and local men must be got trained. Fish is of high nutritive value and people must be induced to use fish in large quantities but it is the duty of the Government to provide it at reasonable prices without the people having to pay exhorbitant middle men's profits. It is gratifying to see that certain provisions have been made in the Budget for improving and extending the fishing farm in Narakkal but the Government ought to see to it that the fish reared there is not sold to middle men but brought to the markets and all those who deal in fish ought to be licensed, as in the case of Beef and Mutton.

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Forests are a national asset and the Development of forests is a national necessity but it is time for the Government to see to it that good building timber is made available to the people in the State at reasonable prices, to enable them to build houses and thus remove the scarcity of housing accommodation.

Irrigation and Agriculture go hand in hand and the two departments should work conjointly and with out co-ordinated activities agriculture, for which irrigation schemes are mainly required cannot and will not be improved. There should be in fact an Irrigation Engineering Department which should be attached to the Agricultural Department apart from the main P. W. D.

Communication and Transport is a major branch of administrative activities. No doubt construction and improvement of several important roads in the State are contemplated as post-war works, but the omission of a suitable metalled road to Chellanam is very much to be deplored. In addition to the Pandikudi-Chellanam Road, for which the Co-operation of Madras Government have to be sought and obtained, I would suggest a branch road along the Chellanam pipe line, starting from Palluruthy road, westward along the alignment of the pipe line which may meet the Pandikudy-Chellanam road somewhere near the Kattiparamb Convent. Instead of awaiting the concurrance and co-operation of the British authorities, Government can themselves take up this road construction now. This will help the people in Chellanam, Andikadavu and the western half of Palluruthy and Mattancheri to find an easy out-let to the Mattancheri town. This should be a metalled road at least 30 ft. wide, capable of taking motor traffic.

It is however very encouraging to find that an Air service connecting Cochin with out side world has been arranged for.

Ernakulam is growing rapidly and want of living accommodation is very badly felt, but the Government cannot expect the people of Ernakulam to provide accommodation for all those who congregate to the town, seeking the enjoyment of town life or come here to profit by the business they are engaged in. The parsimonious policy which prevented the Government from providing suitable quarters for their own subordinates has now placed them in an awkward position. But that is not reason enough to continue to impose on the poor house-owners, Rules and Regulation introduced at the instance of the Government of India, under war-conditions. The plea that this Regulation will be removed only when the situation eases, is, on the face of it, not equitable. War measures were introduced to help the military under military emergency, and should not be made to regulate relationship between people of civil nature.

Provision of 6 lakhs of rupees for the Improvement of Mattancheri and 3 lakhs for the Reclamation of the Ernakulam Foreshore and the amount provided for the opening of the 70 ft. road and improvement of the marshy lands in the heart of the towns are items for which the thanks of the House are due to the Government. But the condition of the Ernakulam town roads should have also attracted the attention of the Government. The finances of the Ernakulam Municipality are in a low ebb. They are unable to finance any large schemes of improvement. Ernakulam as the capital of the State should have received better consideration from the Government. Similar to the scheme of asphalting the Trichur town roads, provision should have been made in the budget for asphalting the town roads of Ernakulam. I would earnestly suggest that if and when this work is taken up, let it not be carried out in the fashion in which the Banerji road was treated, with holes and depressions everywhere. The levels of several of the roads in Ernakulam have to be raised and properly graded and proper side drains provided. Otherwise they will remain as cess-pools, even if asphalted. Now I may say a few words regarding the provision for medical relief in the State. The provision for opening a separate dispensary at Ernakulam and provision for Tuberculosis clinic at Ernakulam and Mattancheri are certainly commendable.

Another important aspect I have to point out in this connection is the inadequacy of medical women in the State. A Medical College for the State is a necessity, which the Government will have to tackle before long. It has become almost an impossibility to obtain seats for Cochinites in the Medical College in Madras. Only two seats are available for us there. This is certainly very inadequate and to add to our disconfiture, the candidates selected are invariably men. I would urge on the Government the necessity of revising their policy in this connection and so long as we have to depend on the Madras Medical College or the Medical College at Calcutta, they must arrange to subsidise for more and more seats for our nationals, and arrange for at least ten seats, five for men and five for women. Only when suitable female candidates are not forthcoming, their seats should be

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allotted to men. Provision should also be made to train up more mid-wives so that we may have one mid-wife in every village or group of villages according to population basis. Much remains yet to be done in the matter of medical relief and it may confidently be hoped that by the time the Post-war Developments are complete, we may have a chain of dispensaries throughout the State.

The Message of His Highness, the Maharaja must be a source of great joy and satisfaction to all of us and must instil in us, besides, a sense of pride in the breadth of vision, appreciation and understanding evinced by His Highness for the trend of popular demands and aspirations to make our State a real unit of the Greater India in its true sense of the term.

Let us hope and pray that the Scheme of unification of All Kerala composed of British Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, as desired by His Highness would be an accomplished fact with the evolution of Indian Independence. As His Highness has clearly stated we have already suffered the misfortune of division and disunity. Though a good deal of the history of Malabar is lost in the mist of antiquity, we have on record a pointed description of what had been happening in Malabar from the advent of the Portuguese in Calicut. The wars Cochin had to wage with the Zamorin on one side and with Travancore on the other side, are all history of which even any Cochinite ought to be aware. We are now presented with an opportunity to unite and who among us would have the temerity to refuse to grasp this golden opportunity to unite as one Malayalee Nation. Let us look forward therefore for the greater Constituent Assembly for All Kerala and let this Council extend its hand of friendship and co-operation to the other component parts of the All Kerla Province. But, unfortunately, if we may believe the latest announcement made by the Diwan of Travancore who says, commending on the Statement made by his Highness, our beloved Maharaja, that it is not possible for Travancore to join the Kerala Province. If we can take it for its face value we may conclude, without being contradicted, that the political ideologies of Travancore and Cochin Governments are poles apart. We must therefore look to the people of Travancore to fall themselves in line with the people of Cochin.

Mr. President: Order, order. I would ask the Hon'ble Lady Member to confine her remarks to this State and not to enter upon to discuss the affairs of the neighbour State.

Mrs. T. Francis *(Ernakulam-Women):* We have however to express our sincere gratitude to His Highness for initiating the Scheme for the unification of Kerala and more especially for granting us the permission to elect our own representatives for the Constituent Assembly of Greater India.

It must however be stressed that negotiations between the three component parts of Kerala to come to an understanding, if that will ever become fruitful, must be long and tedious. It should, therefore, be our endeavour to put our House in order and it would be inadvisable to wait for the consummation of that ideal state of things for which we would all desire for, since His Highness has already expressed his desire and willingness to be a constitutional Ruler. This is the starting point from which further moves can safely be made. I am sorry to have to submit that the labours of the Franchise Committee recently appointed would have to be scraped. His Highness has only to announce by a Notification that Adult Franchise has been granted and once this is done only details have to be worked out. We may confidently hope that will be forthcoming soon and we may have a constitution based on an All Cochin basis, without any communal representations. In this however, the part women have to play should be clearly defined. Women are not likely to be satisfied with the insignificant part they have been forced to play hitherto.

In conclusion I may be permitted to state that since His Highness has already granted us permission to select our own representatives to the Constiuent Assembly it automatically behoves on His Highness to grant the people to set up a Council which can safely be held responsible to the people of Cochin for all their actions.

***Mr. Puthur Achyuta Menon** *(Kattur):* Mr. President, Sir, it is at a critical, but important period in the history of the world, that we sit in this small, yet beautiful hall, to consider about the budget presented by the Hon'ble Finance Member. The world is really undergoing birth pangs of a new social order. Even the Viceroy proclaimed that world war No. 2 was fought "to lift the poor man from poverty to security, from ill health to vigour, and from ignorance to understanding". We are told that the post-war period will bring us hope and

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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happiness; we were assured that we will be free from want, from fear; we were told that peace and security will be ensured.

Better food used to be promised to us, better housing guaranteed to us, more clothes and more enlightenment through education, assured to us, for the past many years by the Finance Members of this Government. Famine, ghastly, staggering, horrible beyond words, taught us that present order cannot give us food; hundreds of our brothers and sisters sleeping on dirty road sides convinced us that the present system cannot give us better houses; the village womenfolk locking inside for want of cloth to cover nakedness, taught us that the promise to give us cloth cannot be fulfilled by this Government; thousands of young men and women knocking at the gates of Government offices and returning without response, murumured to us in our ears that the education imparted to us by this system of Government will not give us light but on the other hand will lead us to darkness and despair. Yet we waited and watched with the belief that the new visible changes all round will force the hands of this Government also.

But the speeches made on the floor of this House by the various spokesmen of the Government make us feel that this Government stands as if it is unaffected by the storms and upheavals that are going on around us.

The able financier of the Government who says, he knows about the "surging urge to build up a new world", thinks that in this tiny corner of India, we can get food simply by spending 8·50 lakhs of rupees for major irrigation and six lakhs of rupees for minor irrigation. He fondly believes that the yield from land will increase simply by the supply of manure at largely subsidised rates for which provision is made in the Budget. Any quantity of manure, any amount of water will not by itself produce more food. The man who produces it must have the natural feeling in him that he is the owner of the plot where he works day and night; where he exhausts the energy of his life; that he is to be benefitted if his field is improved and more food is produced. Is this possible under the present system, is the question. It is only when the present system of land tenure gives place to a more equitable, more wholesome system, that we can hope to produce sufficient quantity of food. The abolition of landlordism is a necessary and sure change in the post-war era; a change which cannot be checked or prevented.

My comment on food was only by the way. As a matter of fact, I wanted only to speak about the law and order in force in our country, the Police, who, according to you, Sir, "are well disciplined and inspired by the highest principles of public service". 9·53 lakhs of rupees we spend on this Police, which a lakh of rupees goes for the mechanisation scheme. In this force we have got Police recruits drawing Rs. 10 per mensem and Police constables about to retire drawing Rs. 18 per mensem. They are going to be supplied with modern arms and ammunitions for the maintenance of peace and order in the country. But, Sir, can you expect to maintain peace and order in a country where an ordinary man, for the simple and accidental reason that he happens to be somewhat rich and having a sort of influence in the official hierarchy takes law into his own hands and deals with noble citizens of a country? Can you expect peace from a people who find that the very police who must come to their rescue, go to the other camp simply because they are poor. The specious pandal erected at enormous cost at Azhicode for celebrating the victory of war which is proclaimed to have been fought for liberty and security, stood mute and calm and watched the blows inflicted upon poor unarmed persons going in a procession.

It is not enough that law is administered. Those in the land must feel that law is administered. People must feel that there is a Government in this country in whose hands their life and property will be safe. Is such a Government in force in Cochin State is the question at present. The silence of the Governnent for the legitimate request for a non-official enquiry into the famous, yet notorious Azhicode incident, convinces us that there is no Government in Cochin State in whose hands the life and security of the poor people are safe. This reminds me of the humorous character "KOCHAPPAN PILLAY", the friend, philosopher and guide of the villain of the play in the Malayalam Drama "Suprabha" who proclaims to the world that "if we have got money with us, we can beat the entire population in the country".

Sir, we want to give a word of caution to this Government. We are not prepared to be governed, to be threatened, to be handled by a few rich persons of this country. If we tolerate this; we are certain we will collapse. The refusal of the Government to institute a non-official enquiry into the incidents at Azhicode is a declaration on the part of the Government that their Police, their law and order exist for the rich privileged class and they will not come for the rescue of the poor toiling masses of the country. The prosperity of the land is due to the toil

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of the people and we have been asking this Government for the past many days whether there existed a Government to safeguard our interests. We got a silent negative reply. We have determined to live free of fears, free of oppression even in the absence of Government help we hear the words of the Mother, the famous character of immortal Maxim gorky, the revolutionary writer who set the setting for the famous Russian Revolution.

We are going to the honest people. We seek those who advise all the poor disinherited. We are not going to the reconciled. We are the masters of life. We, the workers and peasants will rise. All live by our labour. We find we are bound. We are killed, our souls are robbed. We will all unite into one power against this unwholesome power of the rich and this unhelpful policy of the Government. We have studied we have no friends except ourselves. We have found that this Government is only a pillar of support to the rich ; it will not move its little finger for the help of the poor. Our unity will overcome everything. Before that, the entire Police and Military, the new arms and ammunitions purchased for a lakh of rupees, the rowdy elements hired and arranged at enormous expenses, will all shatter to pieces.

We find from the budget that law and justice are administered in this country and 5 lakhs 64 thousand 200 rupees is spent on this head. But when persons like Comrade Chadayam Muri gives a statement that the midnight, after putting out lights, he was beaten by many police constables in police lock up, when it is known that he who went in without any trouble is strugging with pain in the general hospital, there is no law to come to his rescue ; when innocent persons standing on road sides in Irinjalakkuda are unnecessarily beaten, there is no order to stretch its hand to help and console them, when a law graduate and a Municipal Councillor finds it difficult to walk on account of pain caused by blows in his feet inflicted inside the police lock up, there is no justice to do its duty towards him, then where is the necessity for spending such a huge amount on law and order? Five lakhs sixty thousand two hundred or ten times the amount cannot maintain law and order effectively in a country where unemployed persons go about hungry and cannot find employment.

Real peace and order will exist only in a country where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home, of food. Where nearly 4,000 aided primary teachers, weary and weak, after exhausting all constitutional methods are about to resort to the last weapon in their armoury, strike ; where rank corruption and bribery exist and the Government refuse to take notice of it, where discontented dismissed labourers are compelled to wander in the streets of Ernakulam and other parts where the moderate requests of the low-paid servants backed up by the moral force of the public for the minimum basic salary of at least Rs. 30 per mensem is spurned with disaffection by officers drawing fat salaries, where public opinion expressed in the best interests of the country at heart, is not accepted and acted upon, where unnecessary restraints and checks are brought to prevent legitimate activities; where the disabilities in force are not removed and full opportunities of growth to every one irrespective of caste or class are not allowed and where the Government refuses to see the signs of time and try to line with the progressive forces there, law, peace and order will not exist.

Law and order cannot be maintained in a place where the Government unnecessarily imposes ban on the legitimate activities of the people. As early as 1861 Abraham Lincoln said: "Whenever the people shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional rights of amending it or their revolutionary right of over-throwing it. The aim of the State is the conservation of the natural rights of man and these rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression." Can the Cochin Government, after a search of their heart, say that they have stood for the fulfilment of this aim.

A word about jails. The condition in the sub-jails is far from satisfactory. In 1120 we spent Rs. 39,000 and this year Rs. 40,000. Let me remind you, Sir, that the under trial prisoners deserve a treatment far better than that they get at present. In Criminal cases the presumption is that a person is innocent till it is proved beyond doubt that he is guilty. In this period of doubt, in this presumed period of innocence at least, let him be treated as ordinary human beings. The miserable condition of the sub-jail at Irinjalakkuda, the scarcity of water in Trichur sub-jail are all matters brought to the notice of the Government.

The Government's new order banning camps and parades is a post-war measure we, the Congress members of this State have passed a resolution to train volunteers under each of the 30 committees of the District Congress Committee of the State, and also to give a camp training to the valunteer captains. This order now stands in our way. We belong to the proud

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noble family of the Indian National Congress; our flag is the tri-colour flag which saw the sacrifice of thousands of our brothers and sisters, our leader is Veer Jawahar, the embodiment of Indian youth who stands in the vanguard of the nation's fight, the most rational leader of humanity. We want to carry out our programme but we are not for carrying it out with the permission of the Police authorities. We damand that this post-war measure appearing in the guise of Defence of India Rules may be withdrawn.

Bayonets and lathis may be triumphant, you can do everything with them, save sit on them.

Mr. M. O. Thomokutty *(Industry and Commerce):* Mr. President, Sir, I rise to congratulate the Government on their being happy to be possessed of funds, more than they anticipated for framing a budget with 3¼ crores of rupees. This is a war-borne money resulted by the austerity of the public of Cochin and it is the duty of the Government to spend it wisely and to the exclusive advantage of the people. It is one thing to cast a budget and it is quite another thing to see that the budget programmes are carried out into actual execution. The accounts of 1120 showed a revenue of Rs. 267 lakhs; but the Revised Estimates of the current year show a revenue of Rs. 325 lakhs and the budget of the next year based on the Revised Estimates—as the Finance Member has been repeatedly telling us in his Explanatory Memorandum—show a revenue of Rs. 325 lakhs. These revenue figures of the current year and the ensuing year are certainly far ahead of the normal revenues the Government have been dealing in these past few years. I feel a grave apprehension whether their programmes would be executed to any near figures in their estimates having regard to the published actual expenditure of this year. I feel sure that the actuals would end in a huge surplus. It is too late to think or talk of this year's execution. But I wish to draw the Government's attention to the desirability of taking steps to carry out their vast programme of 1122 to its extreme end.

On behalf of the constituency which I represent I am grateful and thankful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja for the generous grants in the shape of concrete and lump sums made to its administrative departments especially Veterinary, Panchayats, Medical (including Ayurveda) and Public Health. I hope that no effort will be spared in bringing to fruition the proposals contained in the budget. My constituency is also aware that other departments such as—Co-operative Societies, Labour, Uplift of the Depressed Classes, etc., should have received similar attention. The development of these departments in their more active functioning for the amelioration of the people of the State is, I know, under serious consideration of the Ministry.

Sir, last year, I had to express a few words critically about the agricultural and industrial situation in the State and the task of initiative in improving the same. The efforts made in the course of this year by the Government in helping the agriculturists in their grow-more-food campaign were commendable and whatever demonstration the department of Agriculture was able to give to the public would pave the way for the intensive development of agriculture in the State in course of time.

It is regrettable to note, however, that the industrial development is static. There was too much talk on the Manu Subedar Committee Report on Cochin industries and the constitution of an Industrial Advisory Board and the creation of an industrial development fund this time last year. But nothing is heard of these since. The public are very much concerned with this stalemate condition of our industrial efforts, while on the other side of Cochin, Travancore, is bristling under a bee-hive of industrial factories. One would feel extremely sad that by the side of Travancore, Cochin was not able to make any head-way in its industrial position these few past years. I should attribute it to lack of proper initiative on the part of Government though I am fully conscious that there might be lack of industrial instinct in the people of Cochin. There is a wide feeling among the public that the Government of Cochin with their sad experience in the past are apprehensive and loath to venture on any industry. I wish the House will join in with me in protesting against this attitude of Government.

True, that the Government with a large revenue in their hands have made revision in the Budget for a number of post-war development schemes of irrigation, town-planning, communications and electrification. These are long-range schemes and do not contribute immediately to the economic improvement of the people of the State. The Public Works Department of the State is proposed to be burdened with works under Public Works (Proper) and capital outlay to the tune of 70 lakhs of rupees. But having regard to the present normal capacity of the

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department it seems extremely doubtful whether it would be able to push through the programmes to any reasonable finish. It would appear that the Government are satiated with the plethora of revenue and have made grants without regard to their necessity or the possibility of the department to utilise the grants.

Sir, I have also a word to say about the Food Supplies Department. I am sorry that I am for de-control of trade and distribution of food stuffs. But emergency requires at present a different treatment of the subject and I submit to it. But there is much to say against the working of the department. In spite of its having an army of staff, it is slow and lethargic, its efficiency is at a low ebb; and the general control is lax. The system of procurement by ordinary Government servants who are ignorant of trade methods is radically wrong; they cannot distinguish articles of common use for a community, from others not under demand; they are ignorant of market conditions, storage methods are not known to many of the Government Godown-keepers; measures for disposal of unserviceable commodities are not understood by the authorities concerned. The result was as the Government have already experienced now, wastage and heavy loss. The argument is that there were wastages in other Governments also. It is no argument at all so long as the Government were repeatedly advised by trades people that the central and local advisory committees should include in them men having knowledge of trade and trade channels. I myself had occasion to advise the authorities in the matter but my advice had, so far, fallen on deaf years. In spite of the existence of a system of concurrent audit by what is presumed to be an expert audit staff, the accounts of the department are not made up punctually and published or reviewed.

The above are bare and naked facts and I appeal to the House to join with me in bringing the attention of the Government to the errors and omissions noticed above.

മിസ്റ്റർ ആർ. എസ്സ്. തേവണ്ണകൌണ്ടർ: മിസ്റ്റർ ചാർ, കനം പിരചിടെണ്ട അവർകളെ.

കൊച്ചി ചീമൈയിൽ ഉള്ള മുക്കിയമാന താലൂക്കുകളിൽ ചിറവൂർ താലൂക്കും ഒൻറു. ആനാൽ മറവതാലൂക്കുകളിൽ കവമ്മെണ്ടാർ ചിരത്തെ പതിപ്പുതുപോൽ ചിറവൂർ താലൂക്കിൽ അതിലും എന്നടയ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലമാന ത്രരൽ പിരതേചത്തിൽ ഇല്ലവേയില്ലൈ.

ടി ത്രരൽ പിരതേചമാനതു പുഴൈവെള്ളം പായക്കൂടിയ മുതൽതരമാന വയൽകളും ഏരാളമയ് ഉള്ളതു. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ അതികം നെൽവിളൈവതു ചിറവൂർ താലൂക്കിൽതാൻ. താനിയകവും വിളൈയക്കൂടിയ പറമ്പുകളും അങ്കെ നിറൈയ ഇരുക്കിൻറന. കിരുഷികന്മാരുടൈയ അവചിയം അനുചരിത്തു കിരുഷിക്കു വേണ്ടിയ ഒത്താഴൈകളൈ മാത്തിരം കവർമെണ്ടിലിരുന്തു ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കും പട്ചത്തിൽ ഇപ്പോതു വിളൈയും താനിയങ്കളൈക്കാട്ടിലും ഇരണ്ടും മൂണും മടങ്കുതാനിയം അന്ത പിരതേചത്തിലിരുന്തു എടുക്കലാം.

നെൽകിരുഷിക്കു വേണ്ടിയതു മുക്കിയമായ് പലതരത്തിലുള്ള വളങ്കളും. കടലൈപ്പിണ്ണാക്കും, ഉപ്പും കിരുഷിഡിപ്പാട്ട്മെണ്ടിലിരുന്തു ഇപ്പോതു കൊഞ്ചം കിടൈത്തുവരുവതുണ്ടു. എൻറാലും അതുപോരാതു. അപ്പടികിടൈക്കും പുണ്ണാക്കും എല്ലാവക്കും കിടൈപ്പതില്ലൈ. "കയ്യുക്കുള്ളവൻ കാരിയക്കാരൻ" എൻകിറമട്ടിൽ അതു ഇപ്പോതു നടന്തുവരുകിറതു. എല്ലാവക്കും വളം ചരിവര കിടൈക്കവേണ്ടുമാനാൽ, അതാതു പഞ്ചായത്തുമകാന്തരം ചപ്പ്ളൈചെയ്യുമ്പടി ഏർപ്പാടുചെയ്യവേണ്ടും.

പറമ്പു കിരുഷിക്കു പിരതാനമായ്വേണ്ടിയതു തണ്ണീർ ചവുകരിയം. അതുമട്ടും കിടൈത്തുവിട്ടാൽ മേലേചൊന്ന താനിയങ്കളൈ ഏരാളമായ് അങ്കെകിരുഷിചെയ്തു വിളൈവിക്കലാം. നെൽവിളൈയും വയൽകളിൽ അപ്പോതു കരുമുകിരുഷി ചെയ്യവേണ്ടിയ അവചിയമേ ഇല്ലൈ. അതുമാത്തിരമല്ല, നമ്മുടൈയ രാജ്യത്തിക്കുവേണ്ടിയ പരുത്തിയിൽ നല്ലൊരുപാകം അവ്വിടത്തിൽ കിടൈക്കവുംചെയ്യും.

ആനാൽ അതക്കു വഴി എന്ന? ഇപ്പോതു ചില കടിയാനവന്മാർ കിണറിലിരുന്തു വെള്ളംതേകി അങ്കങ്കേ പറമ്പുകളിൽ തോട്ടക്കിരുഷി ചെയ്കിറാർകളും. ആനാൽ അതു പെരും ചിരമം. എലക്ട്രിക്കരണ്ടു കിടൈത്തുവിട്ടാൽ പറമ്പു കിരുഷിക്കു വെള്ളമില്ലൈ എൻകിറ അടിപ്പടൈക്കു ഇടമേ ഇല്ലൈ. കിണറുകളിലിരുന്തു ചുലപത്തിൽ പമ്പുചെയ്തു അതികം വെള്ളമെടുത്തു ഏരാളമായ് തോട്ടക്കിരുഷി ചെയ്യലാം. ചുമാർ ഫ,൪൦൦ കിണറുകളുക്കുറൈയാമൽ അന്തപ്പിരതേചത്തിൽ എലക്ട്രിക് കരണ്ടൈ ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തും. ചിറവൂർ താലൂക്കിൽ ത്രരൽ ഏരിയാവുക്കു ചക്കാരിലിരുന്തു ചെയ്യവേണ്ടിയ മുക്കിയമാന ഉപകാരം

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ൻവണ്ടുമാനാൽ അതു എലക്ട്രിക് കരണ്ടെ ഉടനെ അവ്വിടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടുവരുവതക്ക് വേണ്ടിയ ഏർപ്പാടുകളെ ചെയ്യതാകും. ഇതൊത്തവിത അവ്വിടത്തിലുള്ള അനേകം മില്ലുകളും ടി കരണ്ടെ ഉപയോകപ്പെടുത്തും.

ഇപ്പോതു ചിറവൂർ ടവുൺവരെയിൽ പൈക്കാരാ എലക്ട്രിക് ചപ്പ്ലൈയാകിക്കൊണ്ടിരുക്കിറതു. അങ്കിരുന്നു തുരൽ പിരതേചത്തിക്ക അതെ നീട്ടവതു മികവും ചുലപം. ഇതൊപ്പററി പലതടവൈകളിൽ അന്തപ്പിരതേചവാചികളം ചക്കാരെ ഞാപകപ്പടുത്തിയിരുക്കിറാർകളം. ആനാൽ ഇതുവരെയിൽ ചക്കാർ അതെപ്പററി കവനിക്കവേ ഇല്ലെ.

ഇനി വിത്തിയാപ്പിയാചത്തെപ്പററിക്കുനിപ്പോം. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ വിത്തിയാപ്പിയാചത്തിൽ മോചമാനതാലുക്ക ചിറവൂർതാൻ. അതിലും തുരൽ പിരതേചത്തെപ്പററി ചൊല്ലുവേ വേണ്ടിയതില്ലെ. ടി തുരൽ ഏരിയാവിൽ ചക്കാർവകൈയാക ഒരു ഹൈസ്കൂൽ കൂട ഇല്ലെ. നല്ലേപ്പള്ളിയിൽ ഒരു ലോവർ ചെക്കണ്ടറി സ്കൂൽമട്ടം ഇപ്പോതു ചക്കാർവകൈയാക ഇരുക്കിറതു. ആനാൽ അതെയും മാനേജ്മെണ്ടുക്ക വിട്ടുവിട കവമ്മെണ്ടു യോചിത്തുക്കൊണ്ടിരുപ്പതാകവും തെരികിറതു. പിരൈമരി സ്കൂൽകളിൻ എണ്ണമും രൊമ്പകുറൈവു. മററ താലൂക്കുകളിലെല്ലാം പിരൈമരി സ്കൂൽകളം നിറൈയ ഇരുക്ക, ഇന്ത തുരൽ ഏരിയാവിൽ എട്ടോ, ൻപതോ പിരൈമരി സ്കൂൽകളം മട്ടം ചക്കാർവകൈയാക ഇരുക്കിൻറന. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ നിർപ്പന്ത വിത്തിയാപ്പിയാചം ഉടനെ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തവേണ്ടിയ ഒരു സൂലം ഉണ്ടുമാനാൽ അതു തുരൽ പിരതേചമാകും. അത്തുടൻ കൊഴിഞ്ചാംപാറൈ പക്കാവിൽ ചക്കാർ വകൈയാക ഒരു ഹൈസ്കൂൽ അവചിയം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തവേണം.

കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഏരാളമായു് തമിഴർകളം ഇരുക്കിറാർകളം. ആനാൽ അവർകളെപ്പററി കവമ്മെണ്ടു ചരിവാര കവനിപ്പതില്ലെ. സ്ടാപ് ചെലക്ഷൻ ലിസ്ടിൽ അവർകളുക്ക സ്ഥാനമില്ലെ. തമിഴർകളുക്ക ചെലക്ഷൻ ലിസ്ടിൽ പിരത്തിയേകം സ്ഥാനം വീതാചാരപ്പിരകാരം ഒതുക്കിവൈക്കവേണ്ടും.

കൊഴിഞ്ചാംപാറൈ പക്കാവിൽ ജനനടമാട്ടത്തിക്കുള്ള രോടുകളം രൊമ്പവും മോചമാക ഇരുപ്പതാൽ പലവിതമാന അചവുകരിയങ്കളം ഇപ്പോതു പൊതുജനങ്കളുക്ക ഇരുക്കിൻറന. ആകൈയിനാൽ ചരിയാനപടി രോടുകളം ഏർപടുത്തവേണം. മീനാടിപുരത്തിലിരുന്തു വേലന്താവളം വരൈയിൽ ഒരു മെട്ടൽ രോടു അവചിയം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തവേണ്ടും. അപ്പടിചെയ്താൽ ആനമലൈയിലിരുന്തു കോയമ്പത്തൂർ വരൈയിൽ ചേർന്താപ്പോൽ പോക്കുവരവുചെയ്യ ചവുകരിയം കിടൈക്കും.

ചിറവൂർ തുരൽ ഏരിയാവിൽ കൊഴിഞ്ചാംപാറൈ ഒരു മന്തിയ പിരതേചം. അങ്കേ ഇപ്പോതു ഒരു ടിസ്പൻസരി ഇരുക്കിറതു. ആനാൽ അതിൽ പോതുമാന അളവിൽ ചൌകരിയം ഇല്ലെ. കൊഴിഞ്ചാംപാറൈ ടിസ്പൻസറിയൈ ഒരു ആസ്പത്തിരിയാകവും, ചിറവൂർ ആസ്പത്തിരിയൈ ഒരു ചിവിൽ ആസ്പത്തിരിയാകവും ആക്കവേണ്ടും. അതോടുകൂട ടി പക്കാവിൽ ഒരു ആയുർവ്വേത ടിസ്പൻസറിയും ഏർപ്പെടുത്തവേണ്ടും.

എന്നടൈയ തുരൽ പിരതേചത്തിൽ ഇപ്പോതു ഏരാളമായു് കരുമ്പുകിരുഷി ചെയ്യിറാർകളം. അവ്വിടത്തിൽ ചക്കാരിലിരുന്തു ഒരു ചുകർ പാക്ടറി ഏർപടുത്തുവതായിരുന്താൽ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിക്കവേണ്ടിയ പഞ്ചചാരൈയിൽ നല്ലൊരു പാകം അവ്വിടത്തിൽ ഉർപത്തി ചെയ്തതക്കും വഴിയുണ്ടാകും.

The House rose for lunch at 1—30 p.m. and reassembled at 2—30 p.m. with the Hon'ble Diwan President in the Chair

3. Statement by the Diwan President regarding the advancement of the discussion of the demand under Police

Mr. President: I have been asked by some Hon'ble Members if I can arrange for the advancement of the discussion of the demand under Police which is now put down in the Agenda for Thursday, August 8th. I have accordingly arranged that it will be taken up before 41-Miscellaneous which has been put down for Friday, August 2nd. I hope that will meet with the wishes of Hon'ble Members.

4. General discussion on the Budget.—*(Cont.)*

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ട്, സർ, പതിവുപ്രകാരം അവതരിപ്പിക്കാവുള്ള ബഡ്ജററിൽ കാണിക്കാവുള്ള ചിലവിനത്തേക്കാൾ ഇരട്ടി സംഖ്യസപ്ലിമെൻ

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റിയായി അനുഭവിക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്ന അനുഭവമാണ് അടുത്ത ഒന്നു രണ്ടു കൊല്ലമായി കണ്ടുവരുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ആ കാലങ്ങളിൽ സർപ്ലസ്സും ധാരാളം കാണാറുണ്ടു്. ഇപ്പോൾ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഡഫിസിറ്റാണെന്നു് കാണുമ്പോൾ കൊല്ലാവസാനത്തിൽ ഡഫിസിറ്റ് എന്തായിരിക്കുമെന്ന ഊഹിക്കുന്നതാണ് നല്ലതു്. ഡഫിസിറ്റ് ബഡ്ജറാണെന്നു കാണുന്നതിൽ എനിക്കാക്ഷേപമില്ല. പല യുദ്ധാനന്തര സംവിധാനപദ്ധതികളും ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ മുമ്പിലുള്ള കടലാസുകളിലെങ്കിലും കാണുന്നസ്ഥിതിക്കു് ഒരു പരിഷ്കൃത ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ബഡ്ജറ് ഒരിക്കലും സർപ്ലസ്സാവാൻ പാടില്ല. എന്നാൽ ആ പദ്ധതികൾക്കായി ഗണ്യമായ തുക നീക്കിവെക്കാതെതന്നെ— പണിയെടുത്തു് പട്ടിണിക്കിടക്കുന്ന സാധുസ്ത്രീ പുരുഷന്മാരുടെ പട്ടിണിക്കു് പരിഹാരമാർഗ്ഗം കാണാതെ—തൊഴിലില്ലാതെ കഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടു നരകജീവിതം അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന അനേകായിരം തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാൻ വകകാണാതെ—ഡഫിസിറ്റായി കാണുമ്പോൾ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കാതിരിപ്പാനും നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. യുദ്ധാനന്തരസംവിധാനം സംബന്ധിച്ചു് പലേ പദ്ധതികളും ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ ഗവണ്മേണ്ടു ചിലവാക്കിയ പണം ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഇന്നു പൊതുജനക്ഷേമകരങ്ങളും പരിഷ്കാരോന്മുഖവുമായ പലതും ചെയ്യുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമായിരുന്നു. പണമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ വകക്കു് പണം ബഡ്ജറിൽ കൊള്ളിക്കാത്തതെങ്കിൽ ഫ്ലൗർ സിക്കുട്ടറിയേറ്റിലെ ഭരണച്ചിലവിലേക്കു് നീക്കിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന സംഖ്യയിൽനിന്നു, ഞങ്ങളുടെ മുമ്പിൽ നേരെ നിവന്നുനില്ക്കുവാൻ ധൈര്യമില്ലാതെ ലജ്ജിച്ചു ചാഞ്ഞുചരിഞ്ഞു തലകുനിച്ചു നില്ക്കുന്ന സംഖ്യ നീക്കി ബാക്കിയുള്ള നൽ ലക്ഷം ഉറപ്പിക്കയും ഇതിലേക്കു വിനിയോഗിക്കാമായിരുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ രാജകുടുംബത്തിലെ ഒന്നാമത്തെ സവ്യകലാശാലാബിരുദധാരിയും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് സവ്വീസ്സിൽ ഇരുന്ന ഭരണപാടവം സിദ്ധിച്ച ദേഹവുമായ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് സിക്കുട്ടറിയേറ്റിന്റെ ഉപദേശമൊ ഉപാശ്രയമൊ സഹായസഹകരണമൊ കൂടാതെ തന്നെ വളരെ ശ്രേഷ്ഠിയോടും ശ്രേമുഷ്ഠിയോടുംകൂടി ഭരണം നടത്തിവരുന്നസ്ഥിതിക്കു് ഇനി ഒരു സിക്കുട്ടറിയേറ്റ നിലനിത്തിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകേണ്ട ആവശ്യംതന്നെ ഉണ്ടോ എന്നു് തോന്നുന്നില്ല.

സർ, ചൊവ്വരതീപ്പെട്ട മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടാണു് സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യതത്വം ഔദ്യോഗിക നയമായി ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് സ്വീകരിച്ചതു്. പുതിയ നിയമനങ്ങളിലും കഴിയുന്നത്ര ഉദ്യോഗകയറ്റങ്ങളിലും ആ തത്വം ദീക്ഷിക്കുന്നതാണെന്നും അന്നത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയായിരുന്ന സർ ഷൺമുഖം പ്രഖ്യാപിക്കയുണ്ടായി. അതിന്റെ ഫലമായി നൂറുപ്പികയിൽ താഴെയുള്ള ഗ്രയിഡുകളിലെ നിയമനങ്ങൾ നടത്തുന്നതിനു് ഒരു സ്റ്റാഫ് സിലക്ഷൻ ബോർഡ് സ്ഥാപിച്ചു. ഫ ൦ ക. യിൽ കൂടുതൽ ശമ്പളമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനങ്ങളിലും പ്രമോഷനുകളിലും കഴിയുന്നത്ര ഈ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യതത്വം അംഗീകരിക്കുന്നതാണെന്നും അന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഇതൊക്കെ ഇന്നാട്ടിൽ സമുദായങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ സൌഹാർദ്ദം പുലത്തുവാൻ വളരെ സഹായിച്ചിട്ടും ഉണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ നയവും പ്രവൃത്തിയും ഔദ്യോഗിക പ്രഖ്യാപനനയമായ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യതത്വവും തമ്മിൽ യാതൊരു പൊരുത്തവും കാണുന്നില്ല.

ഇപ്പോൾ കൊച്ചിയിലെ ഭരണം, പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു് നിയമനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ഉദ്യോഗക്കയറ്റങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും, കേവലം എസ്റ്റെയിറ്റ് ഭരണമൊ ഫാക്ടറി ഭരണമൊ ആയിത്തീന്നിരിക്കയാണു്. മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സിലെ വിളംബരത്തിൽതന്നെ "I believe in pure constitutional rule and throughout my life I have sedulously cultivated an attitude towards life and institutions which is antipathetic to autocracy-and personal rule" എന്നു് പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതിനു് വിപരീതമാണു് ഇപ്പോൾ കാണുന്നതു്. എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് മാനേജരുടെ മക്കൾക്കും മരുമക്കൾക്കും ചാർച്ചക്കാർക്കും വേണ്ടുക്കാർക്കും അവരെയെല്ലാം ചുറ്റിപ്പറ്റിനില്ക്കുന്നവർക്കും വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളും പ്രമോഷനും കിട്ടുവാൻ വലിയ പ്രയാസമില്ല. അതാണു് ഇന്നത്തെ കൊച്ചിയിലെ അനുഭവം. ന്യായമായ അവകാശികളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ അവഗണിച്ചു് സ്വന്തക്കാരേയും സേവക്കാരേയും നിയമിക്കുന്നതിനും കയറ്റുന്നതിനും എത്തെല്ലാം അക്രമങ്ങളും അനീതികളുമാണു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് കാട്ടിക്കൂട്ടുന്നതു്. അതിനുവേണ്ടി അർഹന്മാരെ ചവുട്ടിമെതിക്കുന്ന അഴിമതികളും നടമാടുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. സ്വന്തക്കാരുടെ കായ്ത്തിൽ സീനിയോറ്റി നോട്ടമൊ, സ്റ്റാണ്ടിങ്ങ് ഓർഡർ പരിഗണനയൊ പരീക്ഷായോഗ്യതയൊ ഒന്നും ആവശ്യമില്ലപോലും. സ്വന്തക്കാരേയും സേവക്കാരേയും നിയമസഭയ്

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ടെ പരിധിക്ക പുറത്തുള്ള വകുപ്പുകളിലെ വലിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നിയമിച്ചു സ്ഥിരപ്പെട്ട
ത്തിയതിനു ശേഷം മറവ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകളിലേക്കു കൂടുതൽ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ മാറവകയും ഒ
ന്നോ രണ്ടോ മാറമൊ മറിയൊ മറിമായമൊ കഴിച്ചു വലിയ സ്ഥാനത്തേക്കു ഉയർത്തുക
ചെയ്യുന്നു. അടുത്ത അവസരത്തിലാണു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു ഭരണത്തിലിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു എസ്റ്റേയി
റിൽ മാനേജരായി ഒരാളെ ൨൫൦ ഉറുപ്പിക മുതൽ ൩൦൦ ക. വരെ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ നി
യമിച്ചതു. അടുത്ത ഭാവിയിൽ ഒരു പുതിയ വകുപ്പു സൃഷ്ടിച്ചു അതിന്റെ അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനാ
യി അദ്ദേഹത്തെ നിയമിക്കുനതും ഒരുപക്ഷെ നമുക്കു കാണാം. സ്ക്രീനിംഗ് പരീക്ഷക്കു
ടി പാസ്സാവാത്ത ഒരാളെ മിനിമം ക്വാളിഫിക്കേഷനിൽനിന്നു ഒഴിവാക്കി നിയമനത്തിനു
ള്ള ഭാഗ്യം ചെയ്യുവാൻ അധികാരമില്ലാത്ത ഒരു വകുപ്പിൽ നിയമിച്ചു. ഇപ്പോൾ ഉത്തവകു
പ്പിലേക്കു വ൪ക. ഗ്രയിഡിൽ ഉയർത്തി പ്രതിഷ്ഠിക്കയും ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ൪൦ക. മു
തൽ ൫൦ ക. വരെ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ റവന്യൂവകുപ്പിൽ ഒരു ക്ലാർക്കായിരുന്ന ഒരാളെ അദ്ദേഹത്തി
ന്റെ മേലധികാരികളായിരുന്ന പല താസിൽദാർമാരുടേയും മേലെ ൬൦൦ ക. മുതൽ
൯൦൦ ക. വരെ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ സ്ഥിരക്കാരനാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ ഹനുമാൻ ചാട്ടക്കാര
ന്റെ ആണ്ടിൽ ഇൻക്രിമെൻറിനു പകരം ഗ്രെഡ് പ്രമോഷനായിരുന്നു. മഹാരാജസ്സ് കോ
ളേജിലെ ഒരു ജൂനിയർ പ്രൊഫസറായിരുന്ന ഒരാൾ ഇന്നു അവിടത്തെ പ്രിൻസിപ്പാളി
നേക്കാൾ ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനാണു. ആ കോളേജിലെ മറെറാരു ജൂനിയർ പ്രൊഫസറേ
യും വലിയ സ്ഥാനത്തേക്കുയർത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു. ആ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനെപ്പററി ചോദ്യം ചെയ്യുവാ
നുള്ള അധികാരംപോലും നിയമസഭക്കില്ലത്രെ! ഇതെല്ലാം മുൻപറഞ്ഞ കുറുക്കുവഴിയിൽ കൂ
ടി സോപാനമേറിയിട്ടുള്ളതാണു. വേറെ ഒരു പ്രൊഫസറെ കൂടി ഉയർത്തുവാൻ തല്ക്കാലം
മാർഗ്ഗം കാണാതെ കുറുങ്കുയാണു. വൈവാഹിക ബന്ധത്തെ അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തി പല
പുതിയ നിയമനങ്ങളും വലിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നടത്തീട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു എല്ലാവക്ഷം അറിയാവുന്ന
താണു. ഒരു ജൂനിയർ മുൻസിഫായിരുന്ന ഒരാൾ പെട്ടെന്നു അഡീഷണൽ ജഡ്ജിയായി.
നടപടി പിശകിനും അപ്രാപ്തിക്കും കുറെമുമ്പു തരംതാഴ്ത്തപ്പെട്ട മറെറാരു ജൂനിയർ മുൻ
സിഫിനും അഡീഷണൽ ജഡ്ജിയാവാൻ ഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടായി. പത്തുപന്ത്രണ്ടുകൊല്ലം ബാറിൽ
പ്രാക്ടീസ്സുചെയ്തുവരുന്ന സമർത്ഥന്മാരായ പല അഭിഭാഷകന്മാർ അപേക്ഷകരായി ഉണ്ടായി
രുന്നിട്ടും അവകളെ അവഗണിച്ചു തിരുവിതാംകൂറകാരനും സന്നതെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ര
ണ്ടോ നാലൊ ദിവസംമാത്രം കോടതികണ്ട ഒരാളെ സേവക്കാരിൽപ്പെട്ട ഒരുദ്യോഗസ്ഥ
ന്റെ മകളെ വിവാഹംകഴിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്ന അവകാശത്തിന്മേൽ ഒരു മജിസ്ട്രേട്ടായി നിയമിക്ക
പ്പെട്ടതു അടുത്ത അവസരത്തിലാണു. ഒരു ഹെഡ്കാൺസ്റ്റബിളായി ആദ്യം പോലീസിൽ
പ്രവേശിച്ചു ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു പോലീസ് ഡബ്ബ് ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരായി ഉയർത്തപ്പെട്ട ഒരാളെ—നട
പടി പിശകുമൂലമാണെന്നു പറയപ്പെടുന്നു—അടുത്ത അവസരത്തിൽ സ്ഥലംമാറം ചെയ്
പ്പെട്ട അദ്ദേഹത്തെ—ബി. എൽ. ബിരുദ ധാരിയും ഇതുവരെ സത്യവാനും സമർത്ഥനുമാണെ
ന്നു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനും പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കും കൂടി ബോദ്ധ്യമാണെന്നറിയപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു സബ്ബ്
ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരുടെ മേലെ കയറവന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരു കുറുക്കുവഴിയായിട്ടാണൊ എന്തോന്നുമാറ
ഒരാഴ്ചത്തേയോ രണ്ടാഴ്ചത്തേയോ ട്രെയിനിങ്ങു എന്ന പേരിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ കാണുവാൻ
അയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നവത്രെ! ബി. എൽ. ബിരുദധാരിയായാലും Efficient ആയാലും പൊതുസ
മ്മതനായാലും ഈഴവനും ചാർച്ചയും വേഴ്ചയും സേവയും ഇല്ലാത്തവനുമാകയാൽ ഇതെല്ലാം
സഹിക്കുമെന്നായിരിക്കാം ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു. ഈഴവരായ രണ്ടു് അസിസ്റ്റാ
ന്റ് എഞ്ചിനീയർമാരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ അവഗണിച്ചു അവരുടെ വളരെ ജൂനിയറായ ഒ
രാളെ എക്സിക്യൂട്ടീവ് എഞ്ചിനീയറായി നിയമിക്കുവാൻ ആലോചിച്ചു വരുന്നവത്രെ. ആ
ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനെ ഒരു വകുപ്പദ്ധ്യക്ഷനുള്ളപ്പോൾ ആ വകുപ്പിൽ ഒരു സ്വതന്ത്ര ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനാ
ക്കിയിരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. അതായ്തു് ആ വകുപ്പിലെ ഒരു ചെറിയവക്കിലേക്കു ഈ ആ
ളെ നിയമിച്ചപ്പോൾ ആ വകുപ്പദ്ധ്യക്ഷന്റെ കീഴിലല്ലാതെ Independent ആയി നിയമിച്ചി
രിക്കുന്നു. മറെറാരു രാജ്യത്തും പതിവില്ലാത്തവിധത്തിൽ ഇതിൽ ഒരു പ്രത്യേക നവീന
ത്വവും കാണുന്നു. നുണപറഞ്ഞു സേവപിടിക്കുവാൻ സന്നദ്ധതകാണിക്കാത്തതായിരിക്കാം
മറവുള്ളവക്കുള്ള ഡിസ്ക്വാളിഫിക്കേഷൻ എന്നു വിചാരിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. സപ്ലീസ്സ
സ്റ്റാമ്പ് അപഹരിച്ച കേറത്തിൽ ഉത്തരവാദപ്പെട്ടസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നിയമിക്കരുതെന്നു ഒര
ക്കൽ ഉത്തരവിടപ്പെട്ട ഒരാളെ ഇപ്പോൾ താസിൽദാരായി ഉയർത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ൬൦൦ക.
മുതൽ ൯൦൦ ക. വരെ ശമ്പളമുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ഹുസൂരിലെ ഒരു സിക്രട്ടറിയുടെ സ്ഥാനത്തേ
ക്കു ഒരു ഈഴവൻ നിയമിതനായപ്പോൾ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശമ്പളം ൧൫൦ ക. മുതൽ

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൨൦൦ ക. യാക്കി കുറച്ചു. ൯൦൦ ക. വരെ ശമ്പളമുള്ള മുൻസിപ്പൽ കമ്മീഷണരുടെ സ്ഥാനത്തു ഒരു ഈഴവൻ നിയമിതനായപ്പോൾ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശമ്പളം ൧൫൦ ക. വരെയായി കുറച്ചു. ൨൫ ക. മുതൽ ൪൦ ക. വരെ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ സ്ഥിരം കിട്ടിയിട്ടില്ലാത്ത എത്രപേർ ഇന്നു ൧൦൦ ക. ക്കുമേൽ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ കയറിപ്പറ്റിയിരിക്കുന്നു? അമിതപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യംവഹിക്കുന്ന സമുദായങ്ങളിലെ എത്രപേരെയാണു മിനിമം കപ്പാളിഫിക്കേഷനിൽനിന്നൊഴിവാക്കി വലിയ വലിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നിയമിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു? കൈക്കുലിവാങ്ങുന്നതിനും അക്രമം പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതിനും യാതൊരു കൂസലുമില്ലാത്തവരാണെന്നൊ വൈതാളികനായി സേവകം നില്ക്കാൻ പ്രാപ്തനാണെന്നൊ വന്നാൽ ഉദ്യോഗക്കയറ്റത്തിനു അതൊരു പ്രധാന qualification ആയിത്തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈഴവർ മുതലായ അവശസമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും അപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും ന്യായമായി അവർ അർഹിക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളൊ ഉദ്യോഗക്കയറ്റങ്ങളൊ മറ്റു പ്രോത്സാഹനങ്ങളൊ ഒന്നുംതന്നെ കിട്ടുന്നില്ല. കാരണം അവരാരും ഫാക്ടറി മാനേജരുടെ മക്കളൊ, മരുമക്കളൊ, ചാർച്ചക്കാരൊ, വേലക്കാരൊ ചുറ്റിപ്പറ്റി നില്ക്കുന്നവരൊ അല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ. രാജ്യഭരണമെന്നതു ചിലകുടുംബക്കാർക്കും അവരുമായി വൈവാഹികബന്ധത്തിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളവർക്കും അവരുടെയെല്ലാം ആശ്രിതന്മാർക്കും ഉദ്യോഗവും പ്രമോഷനും കൊടുക്കുവാനുള്ള അവസരവും അവകാശവുമായി അധഃപ്പതിക്കാൻ ഇടവരുന്നതു് മറ്റു നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒരു മാതൃകയായി അടുത്തകാലംവരെ പരിലസിച്ചിരുന്ന ഒരു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്നു് ഭ്രഷ്ണമാണൊ എന്നു് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ വലിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലിരിക്കുന്നവർ ഗാഢമായി ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ട കാലം അതിക്രമിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഈഴവർ മുതലായ അവശസമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു ലഭിക്കുവാൻ സൌകര്യംതന്നെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു തരുന്നില്ല. സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്നു് വിദേശങ്ങളിലേക്കയക്കുന്നതും നിയമസഭയ്ക്കു് ചോദ്യംചെയ്യുവാൻ അധികാരമില്ലാത്ത കുടുംബങ്ങളിലെ അംഗങ്ങളേയും ചാർച്ചക്കാരേയും അവരെ ചുറ്റിപ്പറ്റി നില്ക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടേയും മറ്റും മക്കളേയുമാണു്. ഒരു കുടുംബത്തിൽനിന്നതന്നെ അഞ്ചൊ അതിലധികമൊ പേരെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തയച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു് എന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ ഈ സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്നു് പോകുവാനുള്ള monopoly ചില കുടുംബക്കാർക്കു് മാത്രം കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നതാണൊ എന്നു തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു. അതും പോരാ, ആ കുടുംബത്തിലെ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ സർവ്വീസിൽ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനായ ഒരാളുടെ മകനെ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ എഞ്ചിനീയറിങ്ങു് കോളേജിലേക്കു് കൊച്ചിക്കാർക്കായി നീക്കിവെച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സീറ്റിലേക്കു് തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട. വളരെക്കാലം കൊച്ചിഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനെ സേവിച്ചു് സൽപേരിൽ പെൻഷ്യൻപറ്റി പിരിഞ്ഞ ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്റെ പൌത്രനും ഇപ്പോൾ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു സർവ്വീസിൽ ഉദ്ദേശം ൨൦ കൊല്ലത്തോളമായി സേവനം ചെയ്യവരുന്ന ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്റെ മകനും കൂടുതൽ പരീക്ഷായോഗ്യതയുള്ളവനുമായ ഒരപേക്ഷകനെ അവഗണിക്കുവാൻ കാരണം ഒരുപക്ഷെ സേവാബലമില്ലാഞ്ഞിട്ടായിരിക്കാം. അതുകപ്പാടെ "സേവാബലമശക്താനാം ശക്താനാം ഭ്രഷണം പണം" എന്നമട്ടിലാക്കിത്തീർത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ നിയമിതനായ ഒരീഴവ ഡാക്ടരെ അയിത്തത്തിന്റേയും തീണ്ടലിന്റേയും പേരിൽ ഒരു നിമിഷനേരത്തിനുള്ളിൽ ആട്ടി ഓടിച്ച അക്രമം ഒരുകാലത്തും ഈഴവർ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഈ വക അക്രമങ്ങൾക്കെല്ലാം പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കി സമത്വവും സാഹോദര്യവും സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യവും പുലർത്തുന്ന സുശോഭനമായ ഒരു ഭരണം സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതിന്നാണു് ഞങ്ങൾ പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദഭരണം ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു്. ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ ഗാഢമായ ശ്രദ്ധയെ ഈവക കാര്യങ്ങളിലേക്കു് ക്ഷണിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം ഉപസംഹരിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam)*: Mr. President, Sir, Coming, as I do, from an important communal constituency of the State, let me begin, Sir, my observations with a reference to the community whose interests I am bound to safeguard and promote on the floor of this House.

Sir, the community I refer to is the Latin Christian Community. One great handicap which this community has had to suffer. is the difficulty felt by those who do not belong to the Christian fold, as well as by those who hail from outside the State, to distinguish our communal individuality from that of the other Christian communities of the State. But all the important Christian communities know fully well that we are a distinct communal entity, following a different Canon Law from that followed by the Syrian Catholics and distinctly marked out from them by different ecclesiastical organisation and ritual and generally even by absence of intermarriage.

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With regard to this community there is the deplorable fact that it is not adequately represented in the services of the Government. Nor does it attempt for social advancement receive sufficient encouragement at the hands of the Government. It is a longstanding grievance of ours that in spite of our repeated requests our representation in the Government services is far below what it should be if our numerical strength, social position, educational advancement and political importance in the State are duly taken into consideration. While small minorities like the Jacobites and Protestants are being over-represented in the services, the claim of the Latin Christians have never received sufficient consideration and for some time past now, their claims have been and are being sadly ignored. Such of them as draw a pay of Rs. 100 and above per mensem are only some eight or nine. We deplore that there has never been a single instance of a Latin Christian ever having filled a place in the higher judiciary or a responsible place in the Huzur Secretariat. With regard to those who are already in the Government service, I am constrained to remark that little encouragement is shown to them in the matter of promotions and of remuneration. I would press upon the attention of the Government to redress our grievances in this matter. I also wish to bring to the notice of the Government that our institutions for social advancement and public good also deserve encouragement at the hands of the Government as we are playing no small part in contributing to the welfare and social progress of the public at large.

Sir, I am glad that Cochin has begun to fall in line with the rest of India in point of political progress. His Highness, our beloved Maharaja, has set a noble example by advocating the cause of India's political and national unity. The historic pronouncements of His Highness with regard to a Kerala Union and the part such a Province has to play in the Central Union of India and in the independent India of the future, are receiving widespread appreciation and acclamation throughout Kerala though there are dissentient Voices which, we hope, will be discarded by the public at large. The pronouncements contained in His Highness' Message stand in striking contrast to the vague statements made by the Rulers of some of the Indian States concerning their attitude towards the question of Indian national Unity and political progress and to the manner in which some of them seem to take the announcement made by the Cabinet Deligation that as soon as India obtains independence Paramountcy would be withdrawn. The freedom which our State would thus obtain His Highness desired to utilise, not for disintegration, but for the unity and well-being of the whole of India. That, indeed, is real statemanship.

I have to draw the attention of the Government also to certain questions of lesser importance. The deplorable condition of the passenger services over the backwaters, imperilling the lives of those who travel in the boats used for the purpose, and the tramendous hardships they are put to should be immediately stopped. Corruption in the lower ranks of our services is spreading and those who have eyes to see and ears to hear are convinced that the canker of corruption is becoming more and more virulent in the lower portions of our administrative system, though happily its prevalence is not wide-spread. In the matter of land acquisitions, it seems, that much corruption can easily enter and only honest officers should be appointed to carry out land acquisitions when these have to be effected on a large scall It is gratifying that the head of our Police Department has striven his atmost to improve the standard of police administration on the right lines. Nevertheless, old habits on the part of the police still persist and these have to be rooted out if our State has to rank itself as a really enlightened State. Rent Control Order even if it should be retained, has to be modified in some of its provisions so that those house-owners who depend upon the rent they received as a main source of their livelihood should not be subjected to injustice and undue hardship. Above all, the condition of those who follow the teaching profession should be amoliorated. Something has been done by the Government but much more remains to be done to improve the condition of teacher. Sir, at least a living wage should be paid to all the low paid servants of the Government.

Now I wish, Sir, to touch upon a question of vital importance to the State. There has never been in the history of our State such a popular awakening and popular feeling over the question of responsible Government. The demonstrations we witness at this juncture and the events of the day before yesterday all over the State bear ample testimony of the fact. Sir, the representatives of the people have stood here and put forward the demand for the past ten years and more. Now the people have begun to move. They are directly demanding it and they want the people of our State should attain as soon as possible their full political stature. They want that the other peoples should view the subjects of the State as free citizens of a free State.

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They want that when their representatives go to the Constituent Assembly others should look upon them, not as slaves coming from a State, but as democratic citizens enjoing full freedom according to civilised standards. Sir, when there is such strong awakening of popular feeling in regard to this matter let us see what the Government have done. What hopes have the Government held out to the people. In the Diwan President's Speech there is an announcement, I take the liberty to quote it. It reads thus: "The time has now come to undertake an examination of the possibility of further advance and to this end he proposes to submit the whole of the Government of Cochin Act to examination in order that it may be so further amended as to provide further extension of the sphere of responsible Government". Sir, how long is this question going to be examined? Do the Government think that there is only the "possibility of extending the sphere of responsible Government?" Have they not investigated for the past 10 years and more and do they not stand by their own pronouncements that so far as responsible Government has been granted and worked it has been a success in the State? Where is the scope, I ask, the Government for this possibility of an investigation? The necessary course which the Government should adopt is so clear, I emphasise that the possibility of examination and investigation—that period is over, if it ever existed, and the popular demand, the desire of the people to come up to civilised standard of administration should be conceded. Sir, on this occasion we must observe symptoms that are in the political horizon. The symptoms are clear. I beg to recall what was once stated by a former Diwan of Cochin, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, who next to the then Maharaja, was the progenitor of the present constitution. At a very important public meeting he stated that what prompted him to advise the then Ruler of the State to introduce responsible Government was the thought that by doing so the loyalty of His Highness' subjects would be strengthened and by doing so he would be preventing disloyalty of any kind from taking root on the soil of our State. Therefore, in the interests of the Ruler himself the Diwan thought, constitutional reform was necessary. The new constitution was thus inagurated. Well, that is a point that we have to note—a pronouncement made by the progenitor of the present constitution, over which we have slept and snored for the past nearly one decade. I am a loyal subject of His Highness the Maharaja. I am loyal to the throne and to the ruling dynasty. But, Sir, I have my own apprehensions in this matter. Seeing the symptoms that I see in the political horison, my apprehensions are that conditions will deteriorate, and therefore, this antiquated ante-diluvian method of investigation and examination of the possibility of granting further reforms have to be given up. If time is not taken by the forelock, Sir, I do not know what will happen. I hope nothing of what I imply would happen. I hope and I pray. But things may change. Things may get out of control.

Sir, at this moment, if small things can be compared with great, I think of a certain king of France—Louis XV, who lived just before the French Revolution. He is reported to have said on one occasion "after me the deluge". I ask are we going to have that deluge. Let us not hope so. But still those words ring in my ears. "After me the deluge". God forbid that deluge ever come.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* It won't come.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* I shall be glad if it won't come. But, still, we have to take lessons from the past.

I appeal to the present Diwan of Cochin to see that such a catastrophe is averted. I appeal to the officers of the Secretariat to see that such possibilities are shut out. I appeal to the people of the State to help the coming of a new constitution based upon full responsible Government so that we may be counted in the eyes of the world as a respectable people competent to take our legitimate place in the free India of the future.

മിസ്റ്റർ. പി. കെ. ഡിവർ : സർ, സാധാരണക്കാരനായ എനിക്കു ഈ ബഡ്ഡറിലെ സംഖ്യകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് വളരെ കുറച്ചു പറയുവാനില്ല. അതു എന്റെ തലയിൽ കടക്കുകയില്ല. പക്ഷെ കുറച്ചു സംഗതി ഞങ്ങൾക്കു നിശ്ചയമുണ്ട്. ഈ ബഡ്ഡറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ആരെല്ലാം എന്തെല്ലാം മേനിപ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തുകഴിഞ്ഞാലും ശരി ഞങ്ങളുടെ വയറിലേയ്ക്കു പോകാനുള്ളതു കാശ്മായിട്ടൊന്നും ഇല്ല. അധികാരം കൈവശംവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നവരുടെ ആഗ്രഹങ്ങൾ എത്രതന്നെ ആയാലും കൊള്ളാം, അഭിലാഷങ്ങൾ എത്രതന്നെ ആയാലും കൊള്ളാം, ഞങ്ങളുടെ അഭിലാഷങ്ങൾ പ്രയോഗത്തിൽ വരുത്താതെ ഇരിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളംകാലം ഞങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അതിനുത്തമമില്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ക്ഷേമൈശ്വര്യങ്ങളാണ് തന്റെ പരമലക്ഷ്യമെന്നും അതിനുവേണ്ടി ജീവിതമർപ്പിക്കുന്നുവെന്നും ഞങ്ങളു

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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ടെ മഹാരാജാക്കന്മാർ എല്ലാ കാലത്തും ആവർത്തിച്ചാവർത്തിച്ചു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. പക്ഷെ മഹാരാജാവ് തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ആ അഭിലാഷം ഇതുവരെ നിറവേറ്റിയിട്ടില്ല. അതു നിറവേറ്റാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗം ഏതാണെന്നു ഞാൻ ആലോചിക്കയായിരുന്നു. തീർച്ചയായും അതു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ കടപ്പെട്ടവർ അതു നിർവ്വഹിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. അതിനു ഉത്തരവാദപ്പെട്ടവർ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കീഴിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരാണ്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്ക എല്ലാപേക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ജീവിക്കുവാൻവേണ്ടി അവരുടെ ജീവിതം പട്ടിണിയും കഷ്ടപ്പാടുമില്ലാതെ അന്തസ്സും അഭിമാനവുമുള്ളതാക്കാൻവേണ്ടി തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു ഇതുവരെ ഒന്നും ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം നിറവേറ്റാൻ ഇതുവരെ നടന്നുപോയിരുന്ന ഭരണംകൊണ്ട് സാദ്ധ്യമാകയില്ല.

സർ, ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധി എന്ന നിലയിൽ ഈ കഴിഞ്ഞ മന്ത്രിസഭയിൽ വരാതെ ഇരിക്കാനുള്ള മഹാഭാഗ്യം എനിക്കുണ്ടായി. അങ്ങു ഈ കസേരയിൽ ഇരിക്കുമ്പോൾ റിവാൾവറും തോട്ടയും ധരിച്ച പോലീസ് ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർമാർ നോക്കിനിൽക്കെ ഒന്നരമയിൽ വരുന്ന ഒരു ഘോഷയാത്ര ഈ റോഡിൽക്കൂടി പോയപ്പോൾ അവർ മുഴക്കിയ മുദ്രവാക്യങ്ങളുടെ അലകൾ അങ്ങയുടെ കാതിലും വന്നാടിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടായിരിക്കും. അതെന്തിനെയാണു സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു? വേലയെടുത്തിട്ടും ഉണ്ണാനും ഉടുക്കാനും വഴി ഇല്ലാത്ത അവരുടെ അതൃപ്തിയെ അനുന്നിദ്ധ്യമായ ഭാഷയിൽ പ്രകടിപ്പിക്കുകയാണു ചെയ്തതു. ഉത്തരവാദഭരണദിനത്തിൽ മറെറല്ലാ പേരെക്കാളും ശക്തിയായ പ്രകടനം നടത്തിട്ടുള്ളതു സാമാന്യ ജനങ്ങളാണു, ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗമാണു. എന്തിനു അവർ ഇതിൽ പങ്കെടുത്തു? അവർ അങ്ങിനെ ഇതിൽ പങ്കെടുത്തതു വലിയ ത്യാഗത്തോടുകൂടിയാണു. അവർ അന്നു പണിമുടക്കി പട്ടിണികിടന്നു. പൈലട്ട ബോട്ട കെട്ടിഇട്ടുകൊണ്ടു രണ്ടായിരത്തോളം ഹാർബർ തൊഴിലാളികൾ എന്താണു പ്രകടനം നടത്തിയതു? ഇന്നത്തെ ഭരണത്തിൽ അവക്കു ഉണ്ണാനും ഉടുക്കാനും സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലെന്നു അവക്കു മനസ്സിലായി. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രി സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി എന്തെങ്കിലും നല്ല കാര്യങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യാൻവേണ്ടി അവരുടെ അഭിലാഷങ്ങൾ അവർ പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ചു. സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അവരുടെ അഭിലാഷങ്ങൾ ഇന്നു സാധിതപ്രായമല്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഉണ്ണണം, ഉടുക്കണം. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇഞ്ചിഞ്ചായി മരിക്കാനല്ല, ഒരു നിമിഷമേ ജീവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുള്ളുവെങ്കിലും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ആനന്ദത്തോടുകൂടി, അഭിമാനത്തോടു ജീവിക്കണം. നിങ്ങൾ ഒരു ലക്ഷമല്ല, പത്തുലക്ഷം രൂപ ചിലവാക്കി പോലീസ്സിനു ആയുധങ്ങൾ വാങ്ങി ശക്തിപ്പെടുത്തിയാലും ശരി അനേകമനേകം ചടയംമുറിമാരെ ലോക്കപ്പിൽവെച്ചു മർദ്ദിച്ചാലും ശരി, അനേകമനേകം വായ്ർമാരെ സ്റ്റേഷനിൽ കൊണ്ടുപോയി ഉള്ളങ്കാലിൽ അടിച്ചാലും ശരി, അനേകമനേകം ഗംഗാധരന്മാരെ വഴിയിൽ വെച്ചടിച്ചാലും ശരി ഇതുകൊണ്ടൊന്നും ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ പോലീസ്സുകാരുടെ ലാത്തി കണ്ടു പേടിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു മരിക്കാനല്ല ജീവിക്കാനുള്ള സൌകര്യങ്ങളാണ് ആവശ്യം. ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ആവശ്യമായ ജീവിതസൌകര്യങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കികൊടുക്കുവാൻ കഴിയാത്ത ഒന്നാണെന്നു മനസ്സിലായതുകൊണ്ടാണു ഭരണാധികാരം ഒന്നു കൈമാറണം, അതു അവരുടെ കയ്യിലേക്കു വരണമെന്നു അവർ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതു. ഈ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഇതിനു മുമ്പുണ്ടായിട്ടില്ലാത്തവിധം ചരിത്രം സൃഷ്ടിച്ച കർഷകം മന്ത്രിസഭയെ ഒരിക്കലും നമ്മൾക്കു വിസ്മരിക്കുവാൻ കഴിയുകയില്ല. അവർ അവരുടെ അഭിലാഷം പറഞ്ഞതിരിക്കുന്ന നമ്മൾക്കു ബ്രിട്ടീഷ്നിന്ത്യയുമായി ഐക്യം വേണമെന്നു നമ്മൾ പറയുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ സഹോദരന്മാർ അവരുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ അവർതന്നെ നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇക്കരയിൽ അവരെപ്പോലെതന്നെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ള, അവരെപ്പോലെതന്നെ പൌരബോധമുള്ള, അവരെപ്പോലെതന്നെ രാഷ്ട്രിയമായ അഭിലാഷങ്ങളുള്ള ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഞങ്ങളുടെ സ്വന്തം കാര്യങ്ങൾ നോക്കാൻ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലെന്നു വരുന്നതു സമ്മതിച്ചു കൊടുക്കാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല.

ഒരു ലേബർ മന്ത്രിയെ വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടു, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ തൊഴലാളികളുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ നോക്കാനുള്ള അധികാരം മന്ത്രിക്കു കൊടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ നടക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ആ മന്ത്രിയെതന്നെ തോല്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു എക്സൈസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെണ്ടും പോലീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെണ്ടും താന്തോന്നിത്തം നടത്തുമ്പോൾ അതു തടയാൻ മന്ത്രിയുടെ കയ്യിനു അധികാരമില്ലാതെയിരിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളംകാലം തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ കാര്യം മന്ത്രിയുടെ കയ്യിലേക്കു പോയതുകൊണ്ടു യാതൊരു ഗുണവുമില്ല. ഭരണം ജനങ്ങളിലേക്കു മാറണം.

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സർ, ഞങ്ങൾക്കറിയാം ഞങ്ങൾ തികച്ചും രാജഭക്തരാണെന്ന്. അധിരാജത്വം വഹിക്കുന്ന ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഭരണാധികാരിയെ ഞങ്ങൾക്കറിയാം. എന്നാൽ അതുപോലെതന്നെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ജനതയേയും ഞങ്ങൾക്കറിയാം. ശരിയായ സംഗതികൾ അവിടന്ന അറിയിക്കേണ്ട സ്ഥാനത്തു അറിയിക്കണം എന്ന ഞങ്ങൾക്ക ഒരഭ്യർത്ഥനയുണ്ട്. സർ, കോൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂഷനിൽ വല്ല വ്യത്യാസവും വരുത്തേണ്ട ആവശ്യമുണ്ടോ എന്നന്വേഷിക്കുന്നതിന്ന ഒരു കമ്മീഷനിയെ വെയ്ക്കാൻ പോകുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന കേട്ടതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക പരിഭ്രമമുണ്ട്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഭരണാധികാരം ജനങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്ക മാറ്റണമെന്നാഗ്രഹമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതിന്നുവേണ്ടി ഒരു കമ്മീഷനിയെ വെയ്ക്കുന്നതിന്ന മുമ്പുതന്നെ ഒരു പ്രഖ്യാപനം ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായിരുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു കമ്മീഷനിയെ ക്ലേശാതെതന്നെ കോൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂഷൻ മാറ്റാൻ കഴിയണമെന്നാണ് ഞങ്ങളുടെ ആഗ്രഹം. ഒരു കമ്മീഷനിയെ വേണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ വെച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. എന്നാൽ അതോടൊക്കിടത്തന്നെ ഒരിടക്കാല ഗവൺമെണ്ടു—പരിപൂർണ്ണാധികാരം ജനങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്ക വിട്ടുകൊടുത്തുകൊണ്ടുള്ള ഒരിടക്കാല ഗവൺമെണ്ടു—ജനങ്ങൾക്ക കിട്ടുക എന്നതാണ് ഇന്നത്തെ അടിയന്തിരാവശ്യം. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ നിങ്ങൾ ഒരു ലക്ഷംരൂപയല്ല, പത്തുലക്ഷംരൂപ ചിലവാക്കി ആയുധങ്ങൾ വാങ്ങി പോലീസ്സിനെ ശക്തിപ്പെടുത്തിയാലും ശരി ഭരണാധികാരം ജനങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്ക മാറിയാൽ പിന്നെ അവരിൽനിന്ന യാതൊരു കഴപ്പവും ഉണ്ടാകയില്ല. അവരെ മര്യാദക്കാരെപ്പോലെ നടത്താൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക കഴിയും. ഇന്നത്തെപ്പോലെ പാവപ്പെട്ട റിക്ഷാത്തൊഴിലാളിയെ പേടിപ്പിച്ചു രണ്ടണ മേടിച്ചും നാരങ്ങാ കച്ചവടക്കാരന്റെ മടിപിടിച്ചു എന്തെങ്കിലും തട്ടിയെടുത്തും ജീവിച്ചുകൊള്ളാൻ പറയുകയില്ല. അവർക്ക ജീവിക്കാനുള്ള ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കുക. അവരെ തെമ്മാടികളുടേയും റൌഡികളുടേയും സേവകന്മാരും കിങ്കരന്മാരും ആക്കുകയില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ എല്ലാപേർക്കും അഭിമാനത്തോടുകൂടി ജീവിക്കുന്നതിന്ന ഉതകത്തക്ക ഒരു ഭരണം വന്നാൽ മാത്രമേ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഭാവുകമുണ്ടാകയുള്ളു.

ഒരു സംഗതി ഇവിടത്തെ ലേബർ മന്ത്രിയോടു പറയേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗം കേട്ടപ്പോൾ അതു വല്ല ചേംബർ ആഫ് കോമെഴ്സ്സ് സമ്മേളനത്തിലൊ അഥവാ വല്ല മർച്ചന്റ്സ്സ് അസ്സോസിയേഷനിലൊ ആണൊ നടക്കുന്നതെന്ന തോന്നിപ്പോയി. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗം വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ബിസ്സിക്കുപ്പിവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടുള്ളതെന്ന പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല—അതു കള്ളിൻകുടം എന്നാക്കിയാലും കൊള്ളാം—ആ ചിത്രീകരണം നന്നായിട്ടുണ്ട്. പക്ഷെ തൊഴിലാളികളോടു ചെയ്ത ഉപദേശം, തൊഴിലാളികൾ സംഘടിക്കേണ്ടതെങ്ങിനെയാണെന്ന ഉപദേശം വാസ്തവത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹം കൊല്ലക്കുടിയിൽ സൂചിവില്ക്കാൻ പുറപ്പെട്ടതാണെന്ന മാത്രമേ പറയുവാനുള്ളു. ഇവിടെ ഒരു ടേയിഡ് യൂണിയൻ ഉണ്ട്. തൊഴിലാളികൾക്ക സംഘടന ഉണ്ടാക്കേണ്ടതെങ്ങിനെയാണെന്ന അവർക്കറിയാം. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇന്ന Down with capitalism എന്ന പറയുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു മുതലാളിമാരോടുള്ള വൈരംകൊണ്ടല്ല. ഒരു സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റ് വ്യവസ്ഥിതി ഇവിടെ വരണം. അതു ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ വരുത്തും. ആ വ്യവസ്ഥ വരാതെ ഇവിടത്തെ ഈ പാവപ്പെട്ട തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗം—നിങ്ങൾക്ക ഉണ്ണാനുമുടുക്കാനും ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നവരായ തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗം—അടങ്ങുകയില്ല. ഞങ്ങളുടെ ആദർശത്തിന്നനുസരിച്ചു മുതലാളിത്വം നശിക്കണമെന്നും ഈ മുതലാളിത്വത്തിന്റെ പരീക്ഷണം കൊണ്ടാണ് ഇന്നത്തെ ഈ കഴപ്പങ്ങളെല്ലാമുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നും ഞങ്ങൾ വാദിക്കുന്നു. അങ്ങിനെ വാദിക്കുവാൻ ചരിത്രം ഞങ്ങളെ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നു. ചരിത്രം ആവർത്തിക്കപ്പെടുവാൻ ആരും ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നില്ല. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ലോകചരിത്രം പഠിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതെന്താണ്? ഇന്നത്തെ മുതലാളിവർഗ്ഗമാണ് യുദ്ധത്തിന്റെ ആരേഴ്കൊല്ലകാലത്തെ യാതനകളിലേയ്ക്ക, വിഷമങ്ങളിലേക്ക നമ്മളെ തള്ളിവിട്ടതെന്നറിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ സമസ്തജനതക്കും സുഖവും ക്ഷേമവുണ്ടാക്കാൻ പര്യാപ്തമായ ഒരു സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റ് ഭരണം സ്ഥാപിക്കണമെന്ന് ഈ കാലമത്രയും ത്യാഗപൂർണ്ണമായ ജീവിതം നയിച്ചുവരുന്ന തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗം വാദിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ, അതിന്നുവേണ്ടി മുതലാളിത്വസമ്പ്രദായം അവസാനിപ്പിക്കണമെന്ന വാദിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ, അതിൽ അവരെ കുറ്റപ്പെടുത്താനില്ല. ആ മുതലാളിവർഗ്ഗം യാചകന്മാരാകാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. നിങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങളുടെ കയ്യിൽ യാചനത്തിന്നുള്ള ചീട്ട കാണുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ നിങ്ങൾ നിങ്ങളുടെ കണ്ണടമാറ്റി നോക്കണം. ഞങ്ങൾ യാചിക്കാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നില്ല. തെണ്ടാൻ ആളില്ലാത്ത ഒരു നവ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇനി 'ഹിരണ്യായനമഃ' എന്ന പറയാൻ തയ്യാറില്ല. തൊഴിലാളികൾ എവിടെയും തെണ്ടിയിട്ടില്ല. അവരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ തന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ അവരതു പിടിച്ചു പറ്റും. അതിന്നുവേണ്ടി ഒരു നവ്യവ്യവസ്ഥകൂടിവേണം. ഒരു പൊതുജനഭരണം വേണം, ആ ഭരണ

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മാറ്റം ഉടനെ ഉണ്ടാകണം. ഈ ഭരണം ഉടനെ ഉണ്ടാക്കാനുള്ള എല്ലാ പരിശ്രമങ്ങളുടേയും മുമ്പിൽ ഈ തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗമുണ്ട്". അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനെ ഉപദേശിക്കാനുള്ള നിങ്ങൾ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം സാധിച്ചു കൊടുക്കാൻ നിങ്ങൾ മുമ്പലപ്പെട്ടവരാണെങ്കിൽ, അവിടത്തെ ഉപ്പും ചോറും തിന്നുന്നവരാണ് നിങ്ങൾ എങ്കിൽ, ഈ നിമിഷംവരെ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം സാധിച്ചു കൊടുക്കാൻ നിങ്ങൾക്കു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ, നിങ്ങൾ ആ സ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നു മാറിത്തരണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ അതിനു നിർബ്ബന്ധിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. മനുഷ്യർ ഈ റോഡുവക്കത്തു കിടന്നു ഭക്ഷണത്തിനു വേണ്ടി പട്ടികളുമായി എച്ചിലിലയ്ക്കു തമ്മിൽ തല്ലുമ്പോൾ നിങ്ങൾ വേഗൻസി ആക്ട് ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നു. പൂവർ ഹോം ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നു. രോഗികളായ അളകൾക്കു കിടക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരു പായപോലും കിട്ടാതെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നു. നിങ്ങൾ വേഗ്രൻസി ആക്ട് ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നു. നിങ്ങൾ ഇന്നുവരെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം അണുപോലും സാധിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. എന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കതു സാധിക്കാൻ കഴിയുമെന്നു ദൃഢമായ വിശ്വാസമുണ്ട്. അങ്ങിനെ മറ്റുസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

അതുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ വിശ്വാസത്തോടുകൂടി പറയുന്നു നാളെത്തന്നെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം സാധിക്കത്തക്ക വിധം ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഭരണം കൊടുക്കുകയും അങ്ങിനെ എന്നെന്നേക്കും അവികലമായ ഭക്തിയോടുകൂടി ക്ഷേമൈശ്വര്യങ്ങളോടുകൂടി മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ജീവിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കത്തക്ക വിധത്തിൽ മാറ്റം വരുത്തുന്നതിനു തിരുമനസ്സിനെ ഉപദേശിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യണമെന്നു അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രസംഗം അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. S. P. Luiz *(Nominated)*: Before offering a few remarks on this budget before the House I consider it my loyal duty to offer our respectful but humable gratitude to His Gracious Highness for the noble message sent to this House which is characterised by an epoch-making gesture towards the realisation of our political goal.

Sir, this the first post-war budget presented to this House after five years incessant suffering consequent upon the conditions created by World War II. On careful study I find that there is nothing extra-ordinary or particularly encouraging in the budget, placed before this House. When compared with the receipts of 1939 there seems to be a 300 per cent increase, brought about by the huge earnings in income tax, Excise, Railway, etc. A proportionate disposal of these huge funds for nation-building activities is obviously neglected.

At this juncture a few events stand out prominently. Our beloved Maharaja has been pleased to transfer a few more subjects to the care and responsibility of an elected Member and Minister of this House, The subjects of His Highness are beguiled by such appointment since there has been no transfer of power at all. The Ministers have not initiated any independent policies calculated to put an end to the rising cost of living which, perhaps is the highest in this State. No comprehensive policy to raise the standard of living of the people has been devised. The Ministers function and that as if they are official servants, and not servants of the people. Their powers are at present circumscribed.

There has been no separation of the State revenue between the reserved and the transferred half. This has made the power in the hands of the Ministers rather illusory.

The Labour position in the State is being tackled no doubt with great care but at times goes into imagination. The labour leaders have no doubt created a sense of mechanical respect and regard by the employer and also cerated a continued policy of playing to the gallery, and to the tune of the masses. The love that once existed between the employer and the labourer has been totally eclipsed, and labour now forms a part of the machine of industry. It is an open secret that labour leaders in India have no share or live interest in any industry, at the same time they are aware that unlike in some western countries labour has not been so well organised, and that a strike means starvation. The leaders have nothing to loose, but labour everything to suffer. The Government with all its potentialities has proved its policy of peace at any cost, from the recent trend of events taking place in this State. I must here warn the Government that if they wish to pursue this policy, and deny the public the thought of freedom of security there is going to be very serious repercussions in the near future. I congratulate the Hon'ble Balakrishna Menon, Minister for Development for the lead he has taken in appointing a Committee for Labour. I am afraid that it is too insufficient to deal with such a wide problem, and suggest democratic representation and enlargement. Further I may point out that the question of strike or not to strike should be the decision of this all important committee

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and not the proud privilege of any political organisation or some irresponsible leaders. I trust that the Government will give this matter the attention it deserves, and protect the existing industries. I am for nationalisation of industries, but the past proves to us the collosal failures the Government has had in industrialisation.

Cochin has to learn much from what is happening around us in the Province of Madras and Travancore. There has been a thorough re-orientation of industrialisation policy. Travancore has taken a great lead in industry, and in keeping with its extent may be termed as the first Industrialist State in India. A bold revenue policy perhaps the first of its kind in India has been inaugurated in Travancore and a sum of one crore of rupees has been set apart for the development of villages. But we in Cochin are still on the back files, totally non-ambitious, walking behind times, in spite of our huge possibilities and potentialities.

There is no housing accommodation in any of the towns the cost of labour unimaginable, and materials impracticable. become impossible for the middle class much less the poor to shelter. We had a brilliant picture of model village both in the Hon'ble Minister's last Budget speech and also one at the War Publicity Exhibition. And thus it ended. And perhaps we may again see it in cinemas. Sir, let alone the trouble born of labour unrest. What about the roudy elements in the State? Where is the police? Where were they at the Cranganur incident? Are they being gagged by the Government and their duties restricted? Are they mant only to pounce upon some stray criminals, or are they to afford protection to the masses? What about the Thevara incident? The officer that gallantly stood in his post, like the faithful sentry, was much rebucked and even his promotion retarded, whilst the other officers directly responsible were found to be hiding behind sugar bags, and motor cars. What has the Goverment done to bring them to task. Was not this cowardice brought to the notice of the Government? Does the Government wish us to go back to the days of yore, and look up as might being the right?

Regarding the Thevara incident, the punishment given to the law breakers by itself was an injustice, and then the forgivenness a huge joke. I am confident that this type of action is bound to create grave tragedies in the future, and ill feeling between States. I was referring to the visit of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, to Thevara. It was indeed an unhappy incident. I can boldly assert that this small State of ours should always keep cordial relations with the neighbouring State. Without a cordial policy of Industrial development, on scientific research, or economic self-sufficiency, we in Cochin will have to suffer a good deal. We know very well that the cost of living is very raised by a stoppage of imports of cattle fodder, green vegetables, rice, labour, etc, from the neighbouring State territory. The questions confronting Cochin are more or less the same as those confronting Travancore. It will be in the fitness of things and to the interest of the masses, for the Cochin Durbar to keep in constant touch with the Government of the sister State of the Travancore in her long term policies, especially in future. I leave it to the good sense of this Government.

There are many things that require urgent attention. Corruption being most predominant, has to be put down with an iron hand. Every Department has its own quota of corruption. Bribery has become the order of the day. The police who have to keep watch over the criminal action of the citizens are actively encouraging all sorts of corruption, who is to detect the police, in their nefarious activities and who to book them? It is high time that the Government conducts an enquiry into the happenings of the past years in order to book the offenders. A committee should be immediately set up from the members of this House and the poor spared so as to bring corruption under control.

It stands to the credit of this State that it was the first to introduce rationing in India; to meet the forthcoming scarcity of food. But the system of procurement has been far from satisfactory, much less the distribution. The damage to cereals at this time, calls for drastic action. In spite of the fact that the State is faced with serious situations, the Jenmi and the landlord are still on the high road of prosperity. He still retains over 500 per cent of what he requires, and then alone cares to give the rest to Government. The Parvathyakkaran dare not use any pressure or take to task the Jenmi, for it is definit in doing so he is bound to meet his Waterloo. Sir, when is this going to stop? I can assure you, Sir, that large quantities of rice and cereals are leaving this State under cover of night. It is high time that in the name of humanity and justice a special vigilance committee is set up for this purpose with powers to check up the granaries of any household if it comes to that. Of course, I need not add that it is a humanitarian job, and perhaps even risky. Further it is high time that the Food Supplies Director gave up his policy of privacy and took into confidence merchants, or experienced brokers to handle the food situation.

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Sir, the recent Cochin Government Loan floated was eleven times over-subscribed, which shows that the investors have ample faith in this Government and that there will be full co-operation. When money is plenty and seeks avenue for investment, why not industrial schemes be implemented. What about the paper mills, the ship building yards? Are we only to see it from paper. Why not the Government seek the co-operation of the willing members of this House to develop more and more industries? Why tax the Chief Engineer all the more with these headaching schemes, and make things almost impossible for him. I can assure there will be many Hon'ble Members of this House to come forward to help the Government in promoting these schemes.

Finally in reviewing the conditions in the State, let me once more bring to the notice of the Government of question of Responsible Government. Cochin was the first to introduce the first instalment of responsibility to the people. Why not this be finalised and full responsible Governmented granted to the people, and thereby rekindle the love between the ruler and the people? Why not an interim Government be appointed immediately whilst the Government of Cochin Act is finalised by a Cochin Constituent Assembly. In this connection I must impress upon the Government the word in Holy Scripture *Vox populi, Vox Doi, i. e.,* The Voice of the people is the voice of God. A unanimous demand of this character cannot be denied and if persistantly denied will have only but serious repercussions which I hope will be even at this juncture evaded.

While I stand on the Floor of this House as a Member sworn to promote the interests of the people of the State as a whole, I have another equally important role to play in this institution where the Government and people meet in friendly intercourse to know each other's minds. My friends and associates will bear with me if I venture to strike a communal role and to comment upon the needs and aspirations of my people in the State.

Sir, the time is long past when any community with whatsoever peculiar cultural and social traditions they may have, could stand aside from the current of public life and evolve a future of its own, and my community which is a product of two cultural forces working within it cannot and will not foster a policy of isolation. As you are aware we have fallen into the general rut and are working for our own betterment, in order that in the fullness of time we may take our rightful stand in the general public life of the State. We are indeed thankful to the Government for having obliged our importance in the body politic and to have acted in a manner helpful to us in the relegation of our legitimate rights and ambitions. It is indeed the proud privilege of the Cochin Goverment to have extended a hand of encouragement to my community and to have sanctioned a scheme for Anglo-Indian Education in the state. You and I know Sir, that under this scheme of education, we would be able to train a part of people for the future life that wants them, without of course sacrificing their individuality. The ground plan of a scheme of education which is admittedly sound from all points of view has been prepared and we have now twelve primary schools functioning. We are deeply grateful to His Gracious Highness, to Sir George Boag, our beloved Diwan, and to the Director of Public Instruction for the great help and assistance rendered to us. Sir, you will pardon me when I say we are an ambitious race, spurred into a new life by the general convulsions that are visible all over the world. Our primary schools are functioning beyond satisfaction, and our only regret is that we cannot meet the situation. All classes are over-crowded, and requires more spacious rooms and more teachers. And at this juncture we cannot rest on our oars, until we are blessed with a high school which of course will be open to all communities. Fully conscious of its benefits and its character-building nature, I am confident that you will do all within your power to visualise our ambitons and also the desire of the general public. As India's greatest authourity Pandit Jawarhal Nehru himself has stated, I strongly encourage European and Anglo-Indian type of schools because 60 per cent of India's first rate men have been the product of these schools.

Sir, the Government of Indian States all over the country have followed a policy of giving communites with peculiar culture and social traditons a hoit of their own, where living a group life, they may solve their own social traditions to the fullness of their talents and abilities. I would not be throwing my axe too high when I suggest on the floor of this House that an Anglo-Indian Colony is a desideratum which all of us feel. This would help all of us to develope the calls of communal life along the very healthy lines and to give my communitiy a feeling of homeliness. As a social animal man has always yearned for this and, that physiological phenomina need not strike you as strange. There are suitable lands lying close to the agricultural minded section of my community, which can immediately be worked upon. This help from the Government will not only help my unemployed section but also provide much more food to the state and perhaps may later on prove to be a valuable granary of the state.

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Then again the question of employment in the Government services. Even though I have brought to the notice of the Government in my last speech, and on various other occasions it is a matter that has been totally neglected. The Government has not to carry its memory very far back to recollect the services my community has rendered to the State in very responsible positions. We do not see why we should not seek a measure of care and attention at the hands of the Government. No doubt there has been a lack of leadership, brougt forth by the unholy system of nomination. But, Sir, I have to now stress upon the necessity of adequate appointments in the State services, on a communal label and basis. A large number of my people has been demobilised after meritorious services. A unit called the N. M. B. a cent per cent Anglo Indian unit has been demobbed and let loose on the high road of starvation. Sir idle man is the work shop of the devil, and these men without work will not be in any way helpful to the nationbuilding programmes we have in view, I request that as fighting men loyal to the salt that they eat, may be given accommodation in the State Forces until better times prevail.

In conclusion I associate myself with my predcessors and the present Hon'ble members of this House particularly with the Praja Mandalam for the great lead they have taken in the matter of responsible Government and pray that with the light radiating from the centre of focus of administration, I mean Sir, George Boag our worthy Diwan, a new life, a new momentom is infused and thereby help to create a greater and renovated Cochin.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu)*: Mr. President, Sir....

Mr. President: Before the Hon'ble Member begins his speech I should just like to say that I propose to call the representatives of Government to reply to this debate at 4-30 p.m.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu)*: Sir, Another leaf has been turned over in the financial history of Cochin by the Budget presented to this House two days ago by the Hon'ble the Finance Member. And we have been listening for the past few hours to various members from various parts of the House speaking on various aspects of the Budget and on certain other subjects which have nothing to do with the budget at all. Sir, it has struck me sometimes that this thing called the general discussion on the budget is somewhat of an interesting and, if I may say so, an exciting game. The general understanding is, I suppose, and I hope you will aggree with me, that a member taking part in general discussion is free to speak upon almost anything which pleases his fancy and fits in with his mood. For once at least, we, members, are free from the shackles of strict legislative and constitutional procedure. This latitude given to the members, together with the wide variety of choice in the subjects, inevitably coax every member to go at his performance with a gusto and warmth which generally do not appear in his ordinary performances in this House. However, Sir, it has a struck me that there is an element of great unreality in many of the things which are being said in this House year after year about the budgets presented by the Hon'ble Finance Member.

Let me explain. The budgets presented to Legislative Houses in countries like ours differ in one vital respect from budgets presented to the Parliaments of fully sovereign and self-governing countries like say, England or America, or even the Government of India. Though from a routine standpoint it is true, Sir, as the Hon'ble the Finance Member has tried to explain in his explanatory memorandum, "the budget is an annual financial statement showing the probable receipts and payments during the succeeding year", in a fully self-governing country, a budget is viewed not as a mere collection of bald, often intrinsically meaningless, figures, but as an authoritive statement from the Government with regard to the economic and financial policies which they are going to follow in the succeeding years (hear, hear).

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Let the Finance Member learn.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu)*: The budget is viewed, in other words, not for the figures that it contains but for the policy underlying those figures and the implications which those figures cannot so far as the larger economic and financial life of the people are concerned. Viewed from this stand-point, Sir, I think, the budgets presented to this House, let me say, for no fault of the Finance Member or of the Government, generally tend to be a collection of figures, a mere enumeration of figures, a problem in simple arithmetic. Of course, we criticise, very often in place and out of place, as we have a right to do and we ought to do, the desirability or otherwise or the wisdom or otherwise of this allotment or that, of this head of revenue or that head of revenue, but so long as we do not have the power, the full power of ordering our own economic life, so long as we do not have the

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controlling strings of our own economic life in our hands. I am afraid the budgets presented in the State are bound to be what they are for years to come. That has been the case so long and I am afraid that will be the case in future even if our Finance Member lives for a hundred years to present a hundred budgets in this House. As we all know, Sir, the controlling strings of almost every department of our economic life now is wielded not by us, but mostly by the Central Government. We also know, sometimes to our cost, that that power is wielded not always in consultation with us or not even in our interests. Almost every one of our major economic policies, our policy of industrialisation, our policy of price fixing, price-levels, and our food policy, is dictated and decided not at Ernakulam, but from New Delhi. Sir, two such clear examples which have come to our notice in the recent months in this respect have been the imposition of a duty on arecanuts and the abolition of the Excess Profits Tax. So far as the first is concerned, that is, the arecanut duty, our Government, for no fault of ours, was faced with the prospect of losing a good amount of revenue by taxing the arecanut in our State or allowing that revenue in spite of ourselves, willy-nilly, to go to the coffers of the Central Government. And so far as the Excess Profits Tax is concerned, when the Government of India announced their decision to abolish that tax in the last Budget Session of the Central Assembly, we were faced with two unpleasant alternatives, either to retain the Excess Profits Tax and allow almost every one of our major industrialisation programmes not to suffer or to abolish the Excess Profits Tax, falling in lines with the Government of India and deprive us of a good revenue of about nine lakhs of rupees, which might have been usefully utilised for the financing of our post-war re-construction schemes. And I do not blame the Government for taking the decision that they have taken on these two questions. But, personally speaking, I must say that I don't approve of the decision to abolish the Excess Profits Tax in our country, but I must also say, in fairness to the Government, that in both these cases they have been largely helpless. Therefore, Sir, while absolving the Government of sole responsibility in these matters, I must protest against the abolition of Excess Profits Tax in the State. I also feel that there is a sort of unreality in protesting against this Government as the fault is not entirely of this Government but of the Central Government. I also feel that this lack of reality in our criticism of the budget here, together with the lack of full economic power vested in our Government, makes it almost impossible, as our Hon'ble Lady Member Mrs. Menon demanded to have a plan behind our budget. I would, therefore prefer at this stage, Sir, not to go into greater details with regard to the various heads in the budget. I would like to leave the Finance Member to his figures. I would like to confine myself to a few brief remarks about one or two important political events which have taken a concrete shape and importance and assumed some urgency which they did not have at the time this Council met last.

The first and foremost question I would like to refer to, of course, is the idea of a Pan-Kerala Federation. So far as the academical, historical and social aspects of this question go, I do not presume at all to be able to improve in any sense upon the most admirable and happily worded thesis which His Highness has attempted in His message which was sent to this House two days back. And the leader of my Party yesterday has spoken at very great length on the constitutional and legal aspects of the question. My purpose, Sir, is just to refer to two aspects of the question. Firstly, I would like that this question be viewed not as an isolated question which concerns our State alone, but it must be viewed, and discussed and decisions must be arrived at on it in the back-ground of the great events which have happened on the Indian political horizon and in the background of the still greater events which are yet to happen, in our political history. Secondly, Sir, I want that politicians, princes, public men and administrators, not only in this State, but also outside, not to miss the high-power emotional fervour, the psychological pent-up feeling which is behind this idea of the unification of Kerala (hear, hear). Let them not run away with the idea that this is a mere new-fangled political slogan. Whatever this scheme of unification of Kerala may have, it certainly has not the disadvantage of novelty about it. It is not a dim, distant vision indulged in by a few sentimental idealists, nor is it the product of the perverse fancy of petty politicians. It has the backing of the long history of our nation, dating back to 3000 and more years; it has the backing of our geographical position, our social customs, our peculiar laws and habits, and nor the least, our achievements and our aspirations. Sir, to call himself a Malayalee is something which holds a deep reverent emotional appeal to every Malayalee, whether he hails from the distant southern-most part of Travancore or he belongs to the northern-most part of North Malabar. It is an idea which grips his imagination as Zionism grips the imagination of the jew. It was pointed out here that associations and public bodies representing

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the bulk of thinking opinion, both here and in British Malabar, have expressed themselves in no uncertain terms endorsing this idea. Sir, I am entitled to ask, is it not the part of wisdom and constructive statesmanship to see this common sense of destiny, this unity of aspirations of the Malayalees, wherever they are found, is not allowed to run to waste in aimless stagnation, but is harnessed to constructive, united, political effort, so that the 12½ millons of Malayalees living on the west coast and outside can rise to higher and higher levels of prosperity and peace, and carve out for themselves a future brighter than ever their brilliant past?

Sir, it now remains only for the people of another part of Kerala.—I do not know if I can refer to that by name—to fall in the line and to express themselves about this. And knowing as we do our brethren over there, their minds, and their aspirations and their opinions, I do not for a moment doubt what their decision will be. Let me make an apeal, Sir, to the various bodies and public associations in that part of the country to give a lead to public opinion in that part and with regard to this all-important question. And let me also remind them .....

Mr. Predsient: Order, order. I think the Hon'ble Member had better be cautious about what he says.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu):* Sir, I am very cautious in what I am saying.

Mr. President: I don't think it right for the Hon'ble Member to address the subjects of another State from this House.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu):* I am not addressing the subjects of another State at all.

Mr. President: The people of another State.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu):* From the very nature of this question .....

Mr. President: The Hon'ble Member must be very careful; otherwise I must rule all mention of the subject out of order.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu):* Sir it will therefore be highly regrettable if, in view of the almost unanimous opinion on this subject all over Kerala, the administrator here or elsewhere who have to move in the matter take up a recalcitrant or unhelpful attitude with regard to this idea which animates almost every Malayalee living on the west coast. It will be indeed distinctly deplorable, if in the face of what I have said, instead of standing for the unity of the different parts of Kerala, he should wish to shut himself or his people who are in his charge in political isolation from the other peoples of Kerala. Of course, Sir, we do not question the right of the people of any part of Kerala to decide the question according to their own lights or to keep out of the scheme altogether if they think that that is in the best interests of their country. But all this talk about the capacity of a particular part to stand on its own legs and the determination of that part to exercise that capacity, is a most dangerous talk, because, I want to make it clear that the people of India, and the people of Kerala are not going to allow anything like complete independence for any part of the country against the declared ideals and interests of the people of this country. And moreover I would also like to mention that it is not the inherent right of any administrator, however high he may be, to take away the right of the people to decide what is in their best interests. But let me close with this remark:—I hope that when the time comes, the Princes and their people, their administrators and their advisers will work loyally and harmoniously for the furthering of this noble cause. Finally, Sir, I would appeal to one and all who is interested in this most vital problem which concern 12½ millions of Malayalees not to view it from the point of view of narrow parochial pride or self-interest, but to rise above them all to the plane of the common interests of the 12½ millions of Malayalees who have had a bright past to their credit and who expect to have a brighter future in the years to come. Thank you, Sir.

Mr. K. I. Velayudhan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* Mr. President, Sir, among the ordinary item of expenditure I see provision to the extent of sixteen lakhs 19 thousand one hundred made for law and justice, jails and police concerned. In this connection I have to point out the utter absence of personal security that obtains in Cochin at present. May I ask the Government what is its notion about the liberty of the citizen. Are the Government aware that individual liberty is at its lowest ebb in Cochin at the present day. What action have Government taken against those who are responsible for the notorious and pitiable incident which took place at Cranganur two months back. What action have Government taken against the alleged conduct of the police in man-handling the enthusiastic who carried out a legitimate agitation for an elementary right of citizenship at Irinjalakkuda.—I mean to enforce a right of

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way, which they were legally, morally, humanly entitled to. Sir, it does not redound to the credit of our enlightened Government with an enlightened ruler at its head to shut out at the late hour in the day particular classes of its people from exercising the elementary rights of individuals. Sir, in Travancore temple entry became a fate-accompli years back. In British India the question is taken up in right earnest by the several Congress Ministeries functioning in the various provinces. Do the Government imagine for a moment that it can steam the tide of temple entry agitation by isolated acts of repression? Far from it. With an educated and enlightened Maharaja in Cochin the "shut out" communities can reasonably hope to achieve temple entry in the immediate future. But when once it is denied nobody can predict what proportion the agitation will assume. Left to themselves the shut out communities are peaceful, loyal, and law-abiding. If at times there are certain lapses on their part from the beaten track, Government will be pleased to note that the fault is not theirs. They are driven to that course by the way-ward acts of the Government themselves. Sir, May I know what is it that has prompted Government to disqualify an otherwise qualified doctor belonging to the Ezhuva Community from holding a doctor's post at Cranganur? What is the morality of shutting out members of backward communities from purchasing their necessities of life from Government Fair Price Shops at Chennamangalam? What is the justification to prevent members of the above mentioned communities from using tanks maintained by the Panchayats in certain places in the State? According to our Standing Orders His Highness' Government do not regard any caste or creed as a ground of civil disability. All classes and castes are eligible alike to hold offices under the Government provided they have the necessary education and qualification excepting Devaswam Department. The Government have not hitherto appointed any Ezhuva or any other member of backward community as the District Magistrate or as the Diwan Peishkar even though opportunities presented themselves for such on more occasions than one. They only adopted surprisingly dextrous methods to defeat the purpose by diverting those persons or eligible candidates to other departments. Every member of my community feels that these appointments will never be given to us. The earliest opportunity should be taken by the Government to dispel that impression. In this connection I wish to draw the attention of the Government to a certain procedings adopted by them. As a result of our sustained agitation that members of all communities should be given opportunities to occupy key positions, Government were forced to yield to that demand. But in giving effect to it they have rather adopted the questionable method of reducing the pay of the post. This is taking away by the left hand what is given by the right hand. When staggering promotions without consideration of seniority whatever are given on one side they miserly adopted an opposit policy towards certain section of its employees. During war time the pay of many posts has been revised, but it is curious that Government have reduced the pay of certain posts. While they are turning out more works as a result of the increases of papers on account of war you are not giving them the peace-time pay of the posts. This is worst than what a capitalist would do towards its labour. This is not embellishment to the Government. Whenever Government wants to increase or reduce the pay of the post they resort to think curious methods of changing the designation of the post without effecting any change in the nature of their duties. This sort of window dressing will not do. What is the special reason for shutting the backward classes alone from holding posts in the Director of Public Instruction's Office when the official temple is open to them in all other places in Cochin? These are but a few of the many handicaps which the backward communities are suffering from. Sir, May I give you a mild warning? You can shut out some people for all time, all people for some time, but not all people for all time. Let us therefore mend before it is too late. Sir, we often feel that it is more honourable to be behind the prison bars for all time than to go about outside without being permitted to exercise along with others even the elementary right of man.

Under the head of the State conveyances, I see an enormous amount. That is the adequate return that the people of the State get for spending such a huge amount on State. An elaborate establishment is made in this behalf. May I ask the Government why a *State Transport Department* should not be organised by the Government to bring "State Conveyances" within its ambit along with the entire transport service of the State? But I however feel nervous in pleading for the State Control of our transport by any Government which has not got a socilistic outlook. Let us hope that our Government will in no time turn socilistic if it get the necessary momemtum therefor. I believe a beginning can be made in this direction by an attempt at early socilisation of public utility concerns. It will confer the largest good on the largest number of people in the State, the very object for which the State exists. Hence it is

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that I plead for the socilisation of public utility concerns. This I am sure will bring in greater receipts and less of expenditure to the Government, not to say the least about the blessing it will bestow upon the public in general. Hitherto it has been the policy of the Government to encourage private enterprises in the matter of motor traffic. Hereafter it seems now to be the aim of the Government to patronise capitalists and monopolist in the field of transport. The recent decision of the Government to issue licenses only to owners of twenty buses or more for regular line traffic is a most disappointing measure and smacks of robbing Peter to pay Paul. This course is opposed to the modern notion of the functions of a State if not to the deteriment of the individual. Sir, if we cast our eyes to things that transpire outside, we will be convinced that what we do in Cochin is just what it ought not to be. State control of public utility concern such as electricity, transport, etc., as an ideal to be devoutly wished for and ardently striven after. Let us hope that before we meet to discuss the budget for the next time, things would have taken the right course in Cochin. I can almost imagin the popular representative of Cochin will be congregating in a socialist assembly next time.

Sir, when I plead for the inauguration of a socialist State, it should not be understood that I am ignoring the claims of every Cochinite for a full share in the administration of the State. Our constitution to-day is an unsuccessful imitation of a byegone British Indian form of Government. It is neither fish nor flesh, nor good herring. To an outsider Cochin may appear to be a progressive State—progressive constitutionally with two elected popular Ministers with control over some of the nation-building departments. Really these Ministers are vested with limited powers and have to a great extent to depend upon the bureacucracy in this day-to-day administration. Sir, is it not better to scrape such a constitution than to perpetuate it ? Better end it if you cannot mend it. This cry has been and is going on in the Council and outside as almost a cry in the wilderness. How long does the Government propose to turn a deaf year to it, not till eternity. I suppose full responsible Government is the condition precedent to a socialist reign and let us hope Government will confer it upon us before we take it by force from you.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Mr. President, the Hon'ble Member for Finance is once again, before the House, this time, with a neatly printed book of 253 pages containing his clever "jugglery in figures" which he calls the budget. He has also given us another neatly printed book of 92 pages styled explanatory memorandum. There is also his speech running into a few pages. The House has also the benefit of yet another 62 pages of nicely printed speeches, shared most disproportionately, between the Diwan and his two Colleagues the Hon'ble Ministers. And more than all we have the loving message from His Highness the Maharaja. With such copious and valuable matter in hand one could speak usefully for some time; but the time allowed being short, rather too short to do justice to the business on hand, I have, necessarily, to feel satisfied by referring to a few prominent aspects only reserving others to the next stage namely voting on demands.

The expression "jugglery in figures", Sir, was deliberately used by me. For according to authoritative writers on Budget making what is before us cannot be called a budget. I shall also advise the Hon'ble Member for Finance to be profited by the very useful tip given by the Hon'ble Member Mr. M. K. Raja. Do give up all conservative notions of balanced budgets. Hesitate not, hereafter and for some years to come, to come before this House with a deficit budget, for, remember that we are living in the post-war world with all its means.

Budgets in Cochin, Sir, have some peculiar characteristics. The receipts are always underestimated, while expenditure is, very often, over-estimated. The result is that the modest surplus anticipated swells into a bigger figure when actuals are known bringing great satisfaction to the Hon'ble Member for Finance. Only much less than a third of the total expenditure is votable. There are, Mr. President, "untouchables" even in the budgets of Cochin. The votable items, again, can be certified if thrown out or reduced by this House. Then, Sir, I ask, in all seriousness, why this costly farce of ten dreary days year after year.

This, necessarily, takes one to the constitution and powers—powers of the House. This is a subject, Sir, on which enlightened Cochin feels strongly. It is only a fully representative House returned on the free vote of every adult citizen of the State that will satisfy Cochin. It is only an administration carried on by a regular Cabinet of Ministers having complete power of the purse, removable from office by a majority vote of this House that Cochinites will tolerate hereafter. Let me not, Sir, however, be misunderstood as not properly appreciating what Cochin has achieved, in the not distant past, under the parental care of her Maharajas, more

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especially, what our present Maharaja, ripe in age but quite modern in political thoughts, has achieved in the short span of 4 months His Highness had been on the Gadi.

The memorable announcement made by His Highness the Maharaja at the Installation Durbar held on the 21st March 1946 is worth study. The granting of a second Minister to administer important departments like Medicine, Labour, Municipalities and others though that, in itself, may not enthuse a section of the people of the State, it, still, is a good step forward. But the spirit pervading the whole announcement is universally accepted as being of far reaching import. The gracious announcement, indeed, reflects "the shape of things to come". Declares His Highness "It is also my desire to introduce a system of joint consultation between my Diwan and the two Ministers on important topics". His Highness continues "It is my sincere wish that the system of joint consultation now to be introduced will in time develop to the State of regular Cabinet meetings". Yet another passage in this announcement should arrest our attention. It is this:—"India is on the threshold of great constitutional reforms and it is my sincere wish, as it has been that of my predecessors, that in the constitutional advancement of the country, my State should not fall behind". The appointment of one more Minister (mentioned earlier in the announcement) and the transference of more subjects is an addditional token of the sincerity of His wishes. Look again, Sir, how this memorable announcement concludes. Here it is. "I have no doubt that we have still much to learn in the art of adjusting ourselves to the requirements of Parliamentary system of Government. But given encouragement and guidance I feel sure that the people of my State will rise to the occasion and not be found wanting in the ability to shoulder the task of Full Responsible Government in due course".

Here is an enlightened Ruler who, true to the traditions of an ancient Royal Family, correctly reading the writing on the walls and assessing His Royal subjects at their true worth, begins his reign, which, I feel sure, will be recorded by the future hostorian of Cochin, to be the most glorious period in her already enviable history, starts on his onerous duties. I submit, Sir, by declaring in quite unmistakable terms, his willingness to part with power, gives an earnest, and a substantial one at it of his expressed intentions, envisages the line of march in the future not the distant future at all but otherwise and mentions in quite succinct terms the conditions that we the representatives of the people have to fulfil before Full Responsible Government becomes an accomplished fact.

And just four months from the memorable day that the above announcement was made, His Highness has addressed to His loyal subjects, through their representatives in this House, a loving message which words beggar me to correctly describe. I shall, therefore, not venture it. Just as I had the occasion to ironically used the words 'സപ്തർഷികൾ' meaning seven sages when one honourable Member of this House the leader of the selfstyled party "the socialists" was indulging in the glories of number seven. I shall characterise, Sir, the nine paragraphs in His Highness' loving message as "നവഗ്രഹങ്ങൾ" meaning the nine planets. Each one of them to an unbiased mind, appears, Sir, in all the glory of the nine planets, shining with the allotted lusture and qualities attributed to which of these heavenly confabulation of these heavenly confabulation.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Which is 'Kethu'.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthasan *(Vadakkancheri):* I submit, Sir, that my half informed astrologer friend—for the Hon'ble interrupter has troubles of astrology at times—ought to know that "Kethu" in certain positions is most propitious and Kethu in this loving message is in its most favourable position.

Look to paragraph 1. Mark the opening words. "The events of the past few months"—months which providentially synchronise with the short period that the Statesman Ruler of the day had been adorning the ancient Gadi of Cochin "have brought grave issues to the forefront of Indian Politics"—not the depressing politics of Cochin, if politics it may be called. Go to paragraph 2. Ponder over these words in it, "It is a consolation to know that the integrity of India is not to be broken and that in framing the future constitution of India we can proceed on that basis. Personally I have always felt and nothing that I have read these days has changed my view—that the States are an integral part of India and should therefore act in unison with the British Indian Provinces and for the benefit of the whole. For if India becomes great, every part of it becomes great and the States too derive the benefit and the glory". Paragraphs 3 to 7 are taken with the arrestingly beautiful picture of the re-unification of that ethnic, linguistic and cultural area in the west coast of India extending from Kasergode on the north to Cape Comorin on the south having a cultural history and tradition extending back to a period longer

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than the Christian Era itself. Says His Highness "The idea thrills me as it should every Malayalee" and in the paragaph which immediately follows the necessary adjustments to achieve the fulfilment of this glorious idea namely the formation of the "Province of Kerala" are quite succinctly envisaged entailing self-effacement to a high degree.

In paragraph 8 of this epoch-making meassage, Sir, His Highness allays the anxious feelings entertained by His Highness' loving and loyal but politically conscious subjects namely Cochin's representation in the Constitutent Assembly regarding which I had, some weeks back, placed my views but on His Highness as also the Diwan. Look how beautifully and statesmanly the idea is conceived and the conception implemented. Mark again the implicit trust His Highness reposes in his loyal subjects. The words used are "I am entrusting a grave responsibility to you in the firm belief that in your hands the prestige of my family will be safe and that you will not do anything which will undermine the ultimate constitutional Headship of the Dynasty. There need not be any conflict between a Ruler and his subjects." The paragraph concludes, Sir, with a very useful tip as to the form of Responsible Government for enlightened and loyal Cochin, whatever may be the view of eminent Constitutional Pandits from far or near, with their apologia for an irremovable Executive for carrying out, especially, long term poliices. And the loving message finally concludes with an exhortation to the subjects of the State pointing out the magnitu de, importance and the purpose of the duties that are entrusted to them.

Such sentiments as this loving message from the Throne contains in every sentence in every one of the nine paragraphs, I doubt, Sir, whether such high principled and supremely Statesmanlike thoughts can ever be conceived at all by any who had not had the rare opportunity of living a well ordered and purposeful life steeped in culture and high patriotism. Indeed, it is given only to patriotism and Statesmen of the highest order, which our benign Maharaja will be acknowledged to be by all unbiased minds. To conceive the idea of "wresting power,"—I am only giving a poor rendering of mine in English for the Malayalam words "അധികാരം പിടിച്ചു വാങ്ങുക"—recently seen in a section of the Press of the State, and the propagandist plat form of the Prajamandal,—is to me, Sir, unthinkable and therefore sinful. Let me leave this loving message for a while.

My esteemed friend the Hon'ble Member for Ernakulam succeeded in catching your eye first and initiated the general discussion of the budget. It is most appropriate, Sir, that it was he who started the discussion, for, he is the Leader of the only recognised and well disciplined party in the House—the opposition in the House. My esteemed friend the Hon'ble Member Mr. P. Govinda Menon last morning and my still more esteemed friend the Hon'ble Member for Kanayannur Ezhuva Constituency Rao Sahib Mr. K. Ayyappan, last evening, deplored the absence in that loving message of message, of any reference to the grant of full responsible Government. In this context the Hon'ble Leader of the opposition going at a tangent to the unnecessarily long speech of the Hon'ble Minister for Public Health, conducted a surgical operation on that speech and concluded by demanding the grant of Full Responsible Government "here now and at once" and not before the expiry of the normal life of this Council as seen printed under the dressing of the wound in the last page of the speech of the Hon'ble Member for Public Health which my honourable opened up like a good surgeon. In short the Hon'ble Leader of the opposition dismissed, Sir, the whole of this announcement, this gracious announcement of the Maharaja, observing something like this. "The thing required namely Full Responsible Government is not there, and what alone, according to this Hon'ble Member, is there, is not anything much. It is not my purpose, Sir, to characterise his observations in any manner belittling them. But I cannot help observing, Sir, that the whole thing savours of discourtsey if not of disloyalty or something much worse to the Royal Author of that epoch making announcement. My Hon'ble friend did not stop with that either. He went on to conclude, Sir, by giving to the Powers that be, a vield threat, if not a naked one, in these words of his. "But delay" in conceding the legitimate demands of the people may lead to frustration, despair and extremism. No human institution deserves to exist unless it reacts to, makes grows and changes with human aspirations; and the institution of Kingship as history shows is no exception. Most uncharitable remarks in the context of today.

In the afternoon my Hon'ble friend the holder of the title of Rao Sahibship, which he has assured us, Sir, was not sought for by him,—but we know well, Sir, how-why titles are granted, and gave the house almost a refreshing contrast. He very properly appreciated the true import of this loving message from the Throne and regretted, when interjected by me, that he was

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not here to listen to this loving message, though he too did not see in it what, more than anything else, was actually wanted and wanted immediately, namely Full Responsible Government. Many other Hon'ble Members of this House like the Hon'ble Deputy President and the Hon'ble Member Mr. P. K. Dewer nominated by the Government to represent labour were also not able to see anything about Full Responsible Government in that Gracious and loving message. The Hon'ble Member Mr. Pylee—I am really sorry to note that he dragged in these unhappy words—even said that it is a case of His Highness the Maharaja thinking and acting as 'after me the Deluge', I can only say, Sir, that I am sincerely sorry for the Hon'ble Deputy President.

But, Mr. President, is it really the case that nothing is gatherable from the utterances made in recent months and on the opening day of this session. I do not at all think so. To me, Sir, the introduction of a system of joint consultation between the Diwan and the two Ministers, developing into the Status of regular Cabinet meetings, envisaged in the historical announcement made at the Installation Durbar did indeed show the shape of things to come. The historic utterances contained in the loving message of His Highness, the reading of which many honourable friends of mine, were not fortunate enough to hear, like Cochin's representative to the Constituent Assembly is to be elected by the Council from the people of the State from within the Council or outside the Council and the degree of self effacement shown to implement His Highness' keen desire to form a Kerala Province. All these should indicate His Highness' willingness to part with power and entrust his loving and loyal subjects with the task of carrying on the administration of the country. But, Sir, I seem to be lonely in this feeling, unfortunately.

Again, Sir, what do these words in the Diwan's speech reading "His Highness believes that the time has now come to undertake an examination of the possibility of further advance and to this end he proposes to submit the whole of the Government of Cochin Act to examination in order that it may be so further amended as to permit further extension of the sphere of Responsible Government" mean? An intelligent and careful readings of many a passage in that loving message from the Throne and an appreciation of that passage from the Diwan's speech extracted above will show, Sir, to an unbiased mind that we are very near Complete and Full Responsible Government. It is there, in these historic utterances. And if only the proposal for the amendment of the Constitution Act of Cochin is axilerated,—and I exhort the Diwan in you, Sir, to implement the above extracted passage within the shortest time possible, and it is quite possible to do it before this Session is prorogued—much of the edge of the carping, nay uncharitable criticism contained in the speeches of some of my esteemed friends will have, been taken away.

If further advance on the road to the goal of Full Responsible Government has not been made yet the blame for it cannot be placed at the feet of His Highness the Maharaja. The blame is all ours. For look at the words, though uttered in another context—they are quite opposite to this matter as well—Here are the sentences :—The bewildering changes of party label by Members of the Council show a lack of political education and laxity of principles which augar ill for the future. (hear hear). I also say, and I join in the cry, just as I joined the urchins the other day when they cried out 'Ezhuthassan must resign". Yes, Sir, resign I did from that self seeking party which could not think of a coalition with the Ministerialists to stabilise the ministry so that it could boldly not heeding to the sabre rattling of a group in the Council, while it successfully worked out a coalition, an unholy coalition with the self-styled Socialists but really a group of assertive communalists. I also did resign Sir, from the disciplined party when I found that it is moving against timely advice tendered to it not to take decisions in the most undemocratic and retrograde fashion, advising the government not to institute a Public Service Commission and exhorting the Government not to assume the management of private schools to placate a particular vested interest and it is said for worse reasons too. Painfully did I part company with a loving child of mine when it began to show signs of ill growth. The reference in the loving message is, indeed, not to my leaving the Prajamandal when on ideological grounds I was constrained to part company with it with a pang of heart but to the defection of the Rao Sahib and his partisans who left the ministerialist party when that party said that it was not prepared to sacrifice a principle and a promise for the sake of expediency and numerical strength. That much for the 'hear hear' indulged in by my friends on the left.

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I was saying, Sir, that the message said;—"the bewildering changes of party label by members of the Council show a lack of political education and laxity of principles, which augur ill for the future". His Highness continued "Let me hope it is a passing phase". This is the reason why His Highness, our Gracious Maharaja, has not announced the transference of more departments, if not all the departments, to be administered by more Ministers than two. I know from persons who have moved with His Highness, persons who have the knowledge of His Highness at close quarters, that this event would have taken place long before if only we had behaved in such a manner as becomes political leaders and political parties. The announcement of Monday would have contained in express language pointed reference to responsible Government, if not "today, now and at once" as demanded by the leader of the opposition and a few others of his line of thinking, within a period of time at least, very short in its extent. If it is not there, the fault is ours.

And is this hope, that "it will be only a passing phase" going to be realised? This announcement was read out to us, Sir, which only a few had the good fortune to hear, at 11-30 a.m. on Monday. What transpired that evening, Sir, namely the unholy coalition, is going to disillusion His Highness about His Highness' hope that these bewildering changes in party politics, bewildering changes and unholy combinations too unholy combination between two title-holders that took place that night, Sir, is going to disillusion His Highness upon the hope expressed that "this is going to be a passing phase". But, Sir, I submit, it is, if not a passing phase, it is not going to last long; it will break and things will take place which will warrant the transference of all departments before long. But I understand that the leader of the party in opposition will not accept even the transference of all departments of government to be administered by the Ministers as full responsible Government. I have seen categorically stated here by him yesterday and earlier in the press that transference of all departments to be worked under the existing constitution is not full responsible government, and I agree with my learned brother in a sense. It is the transference of all departments of administration to be managed by a Cabinet of Ministers chosen from a House returned on the suffrage of all the adult citizens of the State that will make full responsible Government. I agree with him academically. But in practical politics I shall be satisfied, Sir, if all the departments of administration are transferred to be administered by a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to this Hon'ble House.

Unnecessarily a committee has been set up, Sir, to consider the question of broadening the franchise and the Committee is not empowered to do anything else worth having. They can not for example increase the number of general constituencies. To introduce adult franchise does not require a committee. It can be done overnight if the Government wish to do it. We saw it done in a trice in Travancore and the beautiful country has not been washed into the Arabian Sea. If anything, we are more fit for adult franchise than Travancore.

Mr. President: The Hon'ble Member has already had his 20 minutes.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Thank you, Sir, for inviting my attention to time. I will finish in a minute or two. I was saying, Sir, that some Hon'ble Members complained that no categorical statement on full responsible Government was seen in the loving message. However the willingness and earnestness of His Highness to part with power have been shown in the grant of the second Minister and the Cabinet consultation envisaged in the announcement at the installation Durbar. If further proof of His Highness' desire to be a constitutional Monarch is wanted it is seen in yesterday's message which says that "taking stock of what has been taking place in recent months. He has even proposed a Pan Kerala Scheme. That message shows self effacement of a high degree which ordinary Rulers cannot even conceive of. Adjustments to implement the Pan Kerala idea are proposed in that loving message. The amount of trust His Highness places in His loving and loyal subjects is contained in another sentence in that loving message. He says "that the position of my Dynasty, of the ancient Dynasty of Cochin, is safe in the hands of my subjects". Can you conceive of such a Ruler, Sir, and the idea of "arresting power" "അധികാരം പിടിച്ചുപറക"—this was seen indulged in by a section of the Press of Cochin and the propagandist platform of the Prajamandal—can you conceive of these two together? Is that the language to be used as far as the transference of power in Cochin is concerned? I ask the question seriously to all political parties and to the improved unholy combination; every one of them inclusive of my Hon'ble friend the leader of the Labour who thought it necessary to give the Government a serious warning. Now, Sir, the thing that I complain, and seriously complain, is that I register my protest against that sort of expression being used, *i. e.*, wresting of power "അധികാരം

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ചിരഞ്ജീവാരേ" with reference to our Maharaja ripe in age but quite modern in political thought and action. Of course it will apply to many Indian States, but the only reply to such slogans in such places will be lathis and guns. But here even excesses are tolerated to a degree; the police allow a lot of excesses; I don't say the police here are good; they are bad, they require chastisement.

Sir, in my own optimistic way; I see a bright future for Cochin and that not a distant future. Exhorting the Diwan in you, Sir, to hasten that day—may you have the glory of having advised His Highness to grant Full responsible Government to enlightened Cochin and may His Highness have the realisation of His cherished wish of granting Full Responsible Government to the people of His State—and reserving my criticism on certain pressing matters like the running of the Police administration and the pay of the constabulary, the primary school-masters' pay, corruption, the Food and the Textiles, to the next stage of the budget when demands are moved, I shall sit down, Sir, informing the Government to get ready to answer relevant questions on these subjects and not say as usual "I want notice".

Dr. S. S. Rao *(Nominated)*: Mr. President.....

Mr. President: I will give you five minutes.

Dr. S. S. Rao *(Nominated)*: Though from a period of world war termoils and tribulations, we have at present come down to a stage of peace, we are still in the clutches of the demonish tentacles of inflation with all its concomitants repercussions on us.

The industrially advanced countries of the world who have been all the while catering to the immediate military demands are now starting to a change over to meet properly the essential and other luxurious demands of the civilians and as a result of the huge mass productions that are to be catered by these industrialists the world supplies are sure to go far ahead in excess of the demands and we can feel certain of the days to come of extreme economic depression and the memorable repetition of events of 1933 onwards to appear again in a manner far worse.

Scarcity in supplies and the rise of prices of essential commodities have not yet abated and an immediate attention should therefore be given to combat these factors and to provide our people with some relief in their struggle in living, in the face of increasing costs of essential goods.

The key to the situation in unquestionably the provision of increased supply of commodities consumed by the mass of people. Hence a sustained drive towards increased production in the fields of agriculture and industry in an urgent necessity.

Cochin's position in the matter of food supply is peculiar by reason of the excessive extent to which reliance has to be placed on outside sources of supply but experience in the "Grow more food campaign" has shown the means by which the position might be mitigated. When we have practical indications of successfully working out co-operative movements in our State, I submit that modern mechanised methods of farming on a co-operative basis may be initiated in order to increase the extent to which the State might rely on its own resources for its supply of food. This work might be carried on simultaneously with the budget proposals for the village developments.

In passing I must state that the Budget allotments towards the development of fisheries and cattle breeding are most gratifying.

A blue print for the post-war industrialisation has been provided for us by the Report issued by the Manu Sudedar Committee, b t it seems to be necessary that Publicity and Information Department should place before the public, the Industrial potentialities of the State in such a manner so as to attract capital of the adequate availability of which there seems no doubt.

The question of re-organisation of the Secondary and High School education in such a way as not to waste talents in purely literary training is also important. Provisions made by the Government for free primary education of boys and girls simultaneously arranging to provide a new technological institute, I believe are steps taken initially towards the fulfilment of the above desideratum.

In the matter of public health and medical aid the Government must be congratulated on the decision to start a well-equipped Tuberculosis Hospital at Mulakunnathukavu and for the improvements and extensions being provided for the Mental and other Hospital of the State.

Besides the above, it is highly appreciative to observe that the steps taken by the Government towards intensive vaccination against small-pax; anti-malarial and other steps taken against

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mosquitoes with also substantial provisions made towards noon-day feeding of children will surely prove very effective towards raising the average standard of health.

On a scruitiny of the schemes of capital outlay, I make out that a sum of rupees five lakhs is the provision for Mattancheri town improvement works for the year 1122.

Mattancheri, a town geographically one with British Cochin, the commercial capital of the State and a centre of considerable export and import possibilities is paying and has to play a prominent part as a contributing factor towards our State revenues.

Railways—Customs—Income-tax are reasonably basic and dependably elastic revenues and all the three have a direct bearing on the export and imports of a town. It has to be admitted, Mattancheri is the only biggest export and import centre our State has, and all the more, in view of the present improvements effected all round the backwaters, fully metamorphising the status of this town into major port, capital outlay investments made to an extent wanted are sure to bring on returns of an adequate nature, with due needed security.

If I rightly remember, so far various schemes drawn for Mattancheri town impovement, have been only on paper and still the town is lying in an insanitary condition, with low lying swampy slums on the west from Eraveli in the north down the whole length and breadth of Kuvapadam, fully studded with filarial infected mosquitoes and hook worm breeding areas, uncared and neglected.

A major portion of the Customs—Income-tax—Railways and Excise—revenues on a rough calculation clearly goes towards the contribution of 1/5th of our States' estimated ordinary income and this position of Mattancheri has been made glaring to make it all the more clear, the future commercial possibilities and exclusively better type of sympathy and consideration this town should deservedly be shown, with due equity and justice from the hands of our Benign Government.

In view of the very great need and help the Mattancheri merchants would have, if the originally planned schemes of the reclamation of the fore shore, on the same lines as now contemplated for Ernakulam, were to be put into execution, it is my earnes request that early consideration be given for the same.

The main Palluruthy Road extending north and round the western and eastern gates of the Palace requires immediate asphalting and considering the importance of the road for traffic, with a request that the Government may please take the work, I conclude.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* With your permission, Sir I would like to make a few observations.

The first point I want to deal with is about the gross misunderstanding in this House about the reason why the Government have given up the Excess Profits Tax in their next budget. I heard from several sides of this House statements that Government gave up that tax just to please industrialists. It is not so. If you look into the provisions of that Act, you will find that there is a definite clause in it that when the income from any source goes below the standard profits of the standard year for that industry, the reduced amount has to be given back to the industrialists. Therefore, when trade goes down and when the industrialists are not making adequate profits, a situation will arise where Government will have to shell out money from its treasury to the industrialist rather than collect it from him. That is the reason why this Excess Profits Act had to be repealed. It is not to please any particular section of the community. It is because owing to the very uncertain provisions of that Act, that situation is sure to arise very soon. And that is the reason also why in British India and elsewhere this Act is being repealed. This is a very common misunderstanding which I notice from all parts of the House and I thought it best to make it clear before we start with further discussions.

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu):* May I know if the Government is prepared to bring forth another Excess Profits Tax Act without that provision ?

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* The answer to that is, we have already got provision in our Income-tax Act according to which we can levy super-tax. That will completely meet the situation which the Hon'ble Member has in mind. Of course, I know that anything that Government might say this afternoon will not completely meet the mood and demands that the other side of the House has in mind. But, all the same it is fair that I should refer to certain aspects of the administration.

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Now, take the case of food. If we are not worse off than several other parts of the country, I believe that a fair portion of the credit for that goes to the Government.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Poor consolation!

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* We are as badly in deficit as many other parts of the country which are in dire distress. We are in great difficulties in the matter of food-stuffs. If we are not worse than they, it is because we started preventive measures far earlier. We are working out our measures with far greater efficiency and vigilance than most of the other States. And we have conserved every grain of paddy which we could lay hold upon and we have also by our own efforts been able to receive a fair allocation from the Government of India.

Another aspect is Textiles. I agree that it is in a far more difficult position than with regard to food. But the blame for that is not really of the Governments. The All-India position is so bad that the quota that we could get is so meagre that by any amount of careful handling of the stock, it is not possible to meet all demands. However, we have been devising methods by which some of the more serious administrative weaknesses that there were in the administration of that department could be remedied.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* There are many more.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* We have devised methods by which distribution could be made quicker and could also be more equitable.

There have been several other measures which the Government have introduced which are conducive to the general all-round improvement. A reference, I am sure, to any of the important schemes that the Government have in mind either with regard to Education or with regard to Public Works or with regard to Agriculture, Fisheries—all these things, I am sure, the House is fully aware of. Of course, there is hardly little use of referring to them here. I have heard a famous phrase by a great ecclesiast in the middle ages. He said "all that is, good". He said it rather in a clinical mood. But here what has happened is, all that has happened is not worthy to take note of. I suppose I have interpreted the mood correctly. It is rather a very uncharitable mood to take. What have Government done either with regard to these difficult departments which they have to handle or with regard to the great developments that they have to build up in raising the country.

Then, take the case of the so-called civil liberties. I read press reports from several places mostly from outside the State declaring that in Cochin there is no civil liberty. I read that. Press cuttings were taken of that. If it were not such a tragic statement, it would have been really amsuing to read that, and it pained most of us to read that in Cochin there were no civil liberties at that time. At that time what was it that was obtaining here? There was a ban on processions. Why did the Government introduce that ban? The Government had removed that ban earlier. They have removed the ban on processions and all sorts of public meetings. But they had again to introduce a ban on processions. Why? Because we found that on a certain particular occasion there was likelihood of certain clashes between certain sections?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Imaginary.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* It was not imaginary. We had information on that. And that was why Government had to impose that ban. And the moment we found the situation had gone easy and there was no chance of that clash we cancelled that ban. Simply because there was this small ban in Ernakulam, Mattancheri and Willingdon Island there were papers outside the State which were crying loud and loud that in this country there was no civil liberty and that, mind you, at a time when His Highness had so graciously consented to appoint one more Minister. It was most uncharitable. Everything should be taken in a comparative style. It is this extreme position that have led the country into the morass it has sunk, as you found in the papers of yesterday. It is this extreme view that was taken by certain sections of the public, and I have to mention that here, in this House—because of the speeches that I heard that that I say that there should always be a comparative study of things. And today what do you find with regard to civil liberties? Completely there is absolute freedom of any movement anywhere in this State. The Government are responding freely. When new situations arise they are most anxious to meet them in a most willing manner which will be acceptable to the public at large.

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And yet what is the fun of criticising the Government like that ? We are all here like intimate friends.

A Voice.— Hear. Hear.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* We know one another so well that we never misunderstand. But what is the fate of Cochin in upper India, in Bombay and Calcutta where our brothren live ? How would they interpret the situation here ?

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Who was responsible for it ? Who was responsible for unnecessarily maintaining a ban on processions which was not at all required ?

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* I said that that the ban had to be imposed because there were clashes. I have got the information here. And the moment the situation eased and there was no likelihood of such clashes arising, the ban was removed.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* But the credit has gone out by the parade notification.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* We removed the ban.

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* When did you remove it ? That was the point.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* I had not anticipated the criticism that is going on today with regard to the Camps and Parades Proclamation. I will deal with it now, if you so require. But I consider it would be more good to defer it to tomorrow.

Therefore Sir, I did not want to intervene today in the discussions. But I thought that it is only fair that I should mention these facts here and request the House not to take extreme views of things, but to be practical to make a comparative study of things and to go hand in hand with Government. There is not that clash of opinion, that difference of opinion, between the Government and the opposition as there may be in other parts of the country. Therefore, I implore this House to take a moderate view of things and not to rush to extremes. With that request, I conclude.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Sir, I shall now wind up the general discussion on the Budget and in doing so I must first confess Sir, that my task this time has become very light as the discussions have been of a very general nature. Very little about the budget has been said. The discussions were about responsible Government, untouchability and things of a general nature like that. So much so we have all of us are so immersed in these general subjects that it would appear that we have completely forgotten of the Budget.

Mr. P. Sankara Menon *(Trichur-North):* What this section of the House expects of a Budget is all that.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Any way I must disabuse the minds of some of the members of some of the misconceptions that they have given expression to in the course of the general discussions. One member criticised the Budget as a conservative one,—no plan for the future at all, nothing for industrialisation in the Budget—so on and so forth. And another very veteran member charaterised it as a jugglery of figures.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* What else is it ?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* But I will draw his attention to the pages of the Budget. I invite the Hon'ble Members to go through the pages of the Budget and see the provisions Government have made for various schemes of different nature.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)* Of a halting nature.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Haulting nature! You may characterise it in any manner you like.

I call the attention of this House to page 176 of the Budget and see the large provisions that have been made for the progress of the State. A provision of 6 and odd lakhs of rupees has been made for electrification. Another provision of 3 and odd lakhs for rural electrification. A further provision of 4 lakhs for the Poringalkuthu Hydro Electric Scheme. Are they not intended for industrialisation.

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Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* You will not spend a portion of it.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* I am speaking of the provisions in the budget of 1122 and not that of the previous year. Are they not the provisions for the industrialisation of Cochin? How can you then characterise it as a conservative budget?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* It is only a balance sheet.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Then look at the provisions made for irrigation in this budget. No use shaking your heads Sir. Look at the figures properly and then see and study the things properly. (Laughter) And look at my explanatory memorandum. New schemes costing about Rs. 45 lakhs have been provided by the Government. Inspite of these figures how can you pretend that the budget of the Cochin State amounting to about 352 lakhs of rupees and even running into a deficit of 52 lakhs of rupees has been prepared in a most conservative fashion, has taken no account either of the prosperity of the State or the betterment of its people. That is the question I put. I am prepared to confess that there may be defects in the Budget. I am prepared to confess that. But how can you say boldly and so nakedly characterise this budget as a conservative budget containing no provision whatsoever for the industrialisation or for planning for the future or for post-war reconstruction schemes and things of that kind.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Beautiful! Comparatively with others.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Yes. you compare it with your previous budgets, budgets of previous years or compare it with other Budgets. Take the figures absolutely and then study and understand and then come and make a complaint.. That is what you ought to do.

Then there are other matters refer red to for example, what are the provisions in the budget for improving the yield of the land.

Mr. P. T. Jacob *(Latin Christians-Mattancheri):* There is an unspent balance of 19·23 lakhs in the budget.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Let us wait and see till the end of the year, you cannot say what is going to be in store for the future.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Past experience Sir as teacher.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* So that we cannot say anything about the future. It was referred to by one of the Hon'ble members that this programme of expenditure must be carried out to the last pie by the end of the year. What we hope is it will be possible for us to expend all this money in the interest of the State by the end of the year 1122. If we cannot spend it will come again with accounts to you, We will explain the reason why we could not spend all the money. Should we throw our money into the Kizhavana Chal (Laughter) in the name of spending?

What is then Sir, is it not better to give our accounts to you and say the reason why we were not able to spend the money and why it has been kept in the treasury. We will reserve that money.

A voice.—We will rather draw you out.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* I assure the Hon'ble members that this lapse of small amounts here and there is not peculiar feature of Cochin, I have studied the budgets of so many places, Mysore I have studied, Travancore and even British Indian Provinces. Every year we find all the budgetted provisions are not spent everywhere it is so. Every year, every where there are lapses of allotments and there are also additional allotments asked for as we have done so liberally.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* You are experts.

Mr. P. T. Jacob *(Latin Christians-Mattancheri):* There is a lapse of about Rs. 14 lakhs provided for the Challanam Pandukudi road.

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* What was the unspent amount in Britain in last year?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Britain last year!

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* You have studied all budgets (Laughter).

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Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Acconuts)*: Rao Sahib Ayyappan taking examples of that kind.....

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur)*: Why? The most important country I am refering to you now.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: He has not studied it.

Mr. President. I should remind the Hon'ble members that the British Budget of last year, as for several years before, was mainly composed of war credits. So many millions of pounds were placed at the disposal of Government for expenditure. In the last budget a great deal of the credit was not spent because the war came to an end. (Laughter).

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphæl *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts)*: Now Sir, I have got only one or two small points more. One is about the expenditure on education., Mr. Panicker was referring to, He is not certainly satisfied with the provision of Rs. 52 lakhs that we have made under education. I appreciate his objects to see that more and allotments are made under education. But in our particular case, Sir, our expenditure which was something much less even last year has increased considerably, chiefly because of our anxiety to see that our teachers are paid properly according to the recommendations of an expert committee that went into the question and because of our anxiety to give proper free education and to give the necessitous children a free noon day meal.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Have you done it?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts)*: Fully.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Certainly not. What about increments?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts)*: I am coming to that That was a point he referred to yesterday. Why don't you wait and hear me.

Mr. President: Order. Order. The Hon'ble members should address the Chair.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts)*: It is true as the Hon-ble Member for Adoor said that we have not been able to pay these teachers the increments which the committee has recommended. Strictly speaking, Sir, according to our rules they are not eligible for any of these increments. But out of consideration for the poor lots of these teachers who have been suffering for years together Government want to see the utmost that is possible being done for them. It is a question of calculating and considering about the increments of about four thousand teachers spread all over the State covering large periods. Should not we have some time to bestow upon that serious question?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: How long?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts)*: Even in this revised budget provision has been made to pay them and in the next budget also large provision has been made. These details have to be calculated and worked out. You have got to verify service books of 4000 teachers spread over a period of 14 or 17 years.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Is it so difficult?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finace and Accounts)*: It is difficult. You have not seen one service book. You have got to examine the service books with the pay bills of so many years and see what their pay was, where their posting was and things of that kind. It is not an easy matter.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: For poor heads!

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts)*: I wish your head to be there, and then you will see what tremendous work it is. After all we are not taking too much time. The Director of Public Instruction is working at it. We are waiting for orders, to see that it is paid to the teachers. Even special staff has been appointed for the purpose. This is the anxiety which we bestow upon these poor teachers. And yet you say that we are callously indifferent about them. I assure you Sir we are bestowing our best attention to these employees and I say that they will be paid their increments immediately it is sanctioned and orders are passed on them. Without much delay it will be done.

Mr. C. S. Panicker *(Adur)*: What about Dearness allowance?

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Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* I am coming to it. The Hon'ble Member was saying that in British India the aided schools teachers were paid Rs. 24 *i.e.*, I, suppose the statement which the Hon'ble member made on the floor of this House. Am I correct?

Mr. C. S. Panicker *(Adur):* Yes.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* But in British India the Dearness allowance granted by the Government even to Government Servants, is below Rs. 20. How can they then pay to the Aided school teacher Rs. 24?

Mr. C. S. Panicker *(Adur):* It is true that the basic rate is Rs. 16.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* When even the Government servants there get only below Rs. 20 they cannot give aided school teachers more dearness allowance than what they pay to their own servants.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: ഇപ്പോൾ വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്ക് Dearness allowance കൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* Yes. Upto Rs. 1000. And as for the Dearness allowance I must submit to the House that we are dealing with these teachers fairly.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Most unsympathetically.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* I should think that we are dealing with them fairly. It may be a question that we should deal with them more fairly.

Mr. P. T. Jacob *(Latin Christianc-Mattancheri):* Are you going to provide in full?

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* According to us we are treating them fairly. It will be a question of treating them more fairly. That is the position.

Mr. P. T. Jacob *(Latin Christiant-Mattancheri):* The position is not clear.

Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael *(Comptroller of Finance and Accounts):* If the position is not clear I feel sorry for you.

Another point is about the Depressed Classes. It was stated by a speaker for the Depressed Classes yesterday of course he admitted that more and more provisions have been made for their advancement, that the Government were showing a sort of unsympathy towards them. That was what he stated yesterday. He said Government are not very sincere in their efforts. I do not think Sir that charge of insincerity in their treatment towards the Depressed Classes would stand. I can prove from the budget figures of the past so many years that several provisions have been made for their amenities. We are progressing as a matter of a fact every year. We are making more and more provision every year and if there is any grievance or complaint from them that is attended to most sympathetically and urgently by the Government. It will not be fair for them to say that we are either unsympathetic towards them or indifferrent in their amelioration or in the redress of their grievances. I can assure the Hon'ble Depressed Class members that Government would always continue in this spirity of sympathy and goodwill towards them. That is all I wish to say.

4. Statement of the President

Mr. President: If the House will bear with me, there are one or two matters I should like to refer to briefly. The first is with regard to the statements that have been made about the further advance towards responsible Government. All I want to say on that subject is that in the statement that has been made, His Highness and the Government mean what they said and they are serious in their intention to undertake whatever preliminary work may be necessary, at the earliest possible moment. I hope that before the end of this Session I shall be able to let Hon'ble members know exactly how the Government intend to implement these statements which have been made.

The other matters which I wish to refer to arise out of what was said this morning by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition. I wish to refer first of all, to the unfortunate event which happened at Cranganur some little while ago and the request which has been made for a public enquiry into the incidents. As soon as it was brought to my notice by responsible members of this House that there was a suspicion that a certain influential and rich gentleman of the locality

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